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AND

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

JANUARY, 1852.

Art. I. — THE CHRIST OF THE GENTILES.

In a recent number of the Examiner, we reported the conclusions of a famous school of critics in Germany, respecting the view of the nature and function of Christ that characterizes several books of the New Testament. We entitled our article "The Christ of the Jews"; because the names and phrases used in relation to Jesus imply, in the judgment of these scholars, that the writers entertained a Jewish conception of him. We now propose to take up the matter where we left it, and to give the opinions of the same critics respecting the view of Christ contained in other New Testament books. It is needless to repeat that we are uttering no belief of our own, and that we assume the positive form of statement simply as being more convenient and intelligible. We have entitled this article "The Christ of the Gentiles," as denoting in general terms the type of Messianic doctrine that now comes under notice. It is not asserted that the Gentiles had a doctrine of Christ, as definite and coherent as the doctrine held by the Hebrew Christians. The Gentile Christ did not present an idea embodied in an unchanging form, but assumed many successive shapes for the space of three hundred years and more. Nevertheless, from the beginning he was distin-

guished from the Jewish Messiah. For when Christianity passed the borders of Palestine and met the Pagan nations, it became necessary to alter its character to adapt it to another civilization and to new modes of thought, and this change in the character of the religion involved a corresponding change in the personality of its author, both in regard to his office and his nature. The view taken of the religion of course determines, and historically has determined, the view taken of its founder. The Hebrew Messiah — human in form, stern in feature, at once king and prophet after the ancient Judean stamp, local within the narrow limits of Syria, and national with the intense, exclusive nationality of Jewish patriotism, the descendant of David, the successor of Moses, the appointed vindicator of a promise made to Israel alone — could no more satisfy the intellectual Greeks and the cosmopolitan Romans, than the theocratic hope cherished by the devout in Jerusalem would content the speculative thinker at the school, or the worshipper at the shrine of Apollo. Christianity did go forth out of Israel; it did address the Gentiles; and with this important movement, which gave the religion of Jesus to the world, and thus preserved it from inevitable destruction, the name of Paul is identified. It is consequently in the writings of this great Apostle that we find the earliest form of the Gentile Christ, the germ of the doctrine that even up to this day has ruled theological Christendom.

Many things conspired to give Paul an original view of Christianity and of Christ. The circumstances of his conversion led to it. No arguments or miracles, no prophecies fulfilled, no proof from history, whether remote or recent, primarily convinced him that Christianity was true; the inward light of Christianity itself broke into his mind, and was its own evidence. The fleshly Christ he had never seen; he had never heard him speak; of his doctrine he knew little and thought less; he had been no disciple, nor the friend of a disciple; he derided the Christ of Judea; — but the risen Christ, unearthly, transfigured, was revealed to his consciousness. The spiritual Christ, freed from limitations of every kind, from limitations not of place and time only, but of thought, — the spiritual Christ, divested of

every thing sectional and Jewish, stood in glory before his spirit. This was the Christ and this the Christianity that Paul knew.

His course after his conversion could not fail to deepen the impression already made. His journey to Arabia, where he certainly would find no authentic records of Christ's history, nor meet any of his immediate followers, and his long stay at Damascus, also at a distance from the centre of Christian thought, afforded him leisure and opportunity for maturing his views in harmony with their first conception and without restraint. Not till the expiration of three years did he come to Jerusalem, to make the acquaintance of Peter and James, and then he staid but fourteen days. By that time, his theory of Christianity must have been, and in fact it was, fully developed in his mind. He was not to be judged by the other Apostles even then, and the next time he came to Jerusalem — fourteen years later — he presented himself as the open champion of a more liberal theory of Christianity, and the professed enemy of the Jewish exclusive view that prevailed among the original disciples of Jesus.

Thus, from the nature of the case, Paul's Christ was an ideal, not an historical person. The knowledge of him was obtained, so far as we can learn, from no written documents, from no oral information, but from inward conviction and solitary meditation. Paul has very few biographical notices of Jesus; he mentions no event of his life except the last supper, no miracle but the resurrection, and the resurrection he regards as important and interesting in a doctrinal view only. Not that he thinks lightly of it as an historical fact. On the contrary, he accepts it; he insists upon it with great urgency. To his faith, the resurrection of Jesus was an *a priori* necessity. His nature and his office demanded that he should rise. But Paul brings evidence too. He tells how Christ was seen by Cephas and the twelve; then by five hundred brethren at once; afterward by James and all the Apostles; and finally by himself. The Apostle seems to forget that, as he saw Jesus rather by way of vision than of ocular perception, his testimony could not be of much independent value. But his intense conviction, and his eagerness to make the point equally clear

to other minds, prevent his distinguishing carefully the validity of his proofs. By all means the resurrection must stand. "If Christ be not risen, then is my preaching vain, and your faith is also vain." But the value of the resurrection with Paul consists in its doctrinal significance, not in its historical probability.

The Christianity of Paul was a purely spiritual thing. The Christ of Paul was a purely spiritual being, whose life commenced with his death. He does not say that the Redeemer's earthly condition was unlike another man's, that he had not father and mother and human relations such as we all have; but with this earthly life, this corporeal life of years and relationships, this Jewish life, Paul had nothing to do. The Christ of his inward meditation and experience was a spiritual being.

The experiment of active missionary labor aided in confirming this view. When Paul stood up to address an assembly in Corinth or Ephesus, it would not do for him to preach "Jesus of Nazareth, king of the Jews." These were not all Hebrews who surrounded him; here was a new cast of mind to instruct; here were new wants to satisfy. If the religion of the Jews is to reach this mind, and to meet these wants, it must be enlarged; it must cease to be Jewish; its very idea must be changed; it must assume another function, and must work from a mightier principle. The change is made, and Paul preaches an original Gospel; a Gospel that knows neither Greek nor Jew, that appeals to no local prejudice, but speaks directly to the heart of all mankind; a Gospel of fresh, independent, spiritual truth, borrowed from no tradition, derived from no historical authority, not even from the authority of Christ, as it appears, and having only this in common with the doctrine of the disciples, that it connected itself with the person of the crucified and risen Messiah. As we have already said, this original conception of Christianity involves an original conception of Christ. Involves it; for with Paul the practical preceded the speculative in the order of development. He did not first construct his theory of Christ's nature, and then from this theory deduce his practical system of religion. But that system grew out of his practical solution of the wants of his age, and then produced within itself the type of Christ that belonged to

it. The function of Jesus goes before his nature; and in treating of the Christology of Paul we must first consider the office he assigned to the Redeemer. Of course we cannot pretend in this place to give any thing like an exposition, even the most meagre, of a complicated system. We shall be content with drawing the general outline of the view entertained by Paul. One word more by way of preface. The substance of this Pauline system is taken wholly from the four Epistles, — Galatians, Romans, and the two Corinthians, — these being the only writings of Paul whose genuineness has never been questioned, and which have, besides, a consistent and full doctrine of their own. This will appear further as we proceed.

We must begin with Christ's posture towards the Jewish law. In speaking of the law, Paul adapts his tone to the course of his argument. Sometimes he uses language of the strongest condemnation. The law is a law of sin and death. (Rom. viii. 2.) It is the strength of sin. (1 Corin. xv. 56.) It entails a curse. (Galat. iii. 13.) It is a schoolmaster to bring us to Christ (Galat. iii. 24); not an instructor or guide, for such was not the meaning of παιδαγωγός when this passage was written, but a keeper. The παιδαγωγός was a slave who waited upon children and watched them. The old covenant was a ministration of death, — a ministration of condemnation. (2 Corin. iii. 7, 9.) In other passages he calls the law "holy" and "spiritual." (Rom. vii. 12, 14.) It is the promise that Christ fulfilled. (Rom. ix. 8.) It is the beginning that Christ ended. (Rom. x. 4.) The law is the prophecy of Christ.

Christ imparts a new spirit of life which delivers from the law. (Galat. ii. 20; Rom. viii. 1, 2, 10.) He is a common principle of spiritual life to the whole body of believers. (1 Corin. xii.) It is in this connection that the resurrection of Jesus has its great significance. All men are subjected to the law of death; death not of body only, but of mind and soul, for the Jew believed that the body was essentially the element of personality, and that its destruction involved the destruction of all life and happiness. If, then, existence is to be any thing to him after the death of the body, he must first of all be assured that death has no power to annihilate his cor-

poreal being. The law of spiritual life in Christ must therefore break the power of death in its whole dominion. Not only must the soul be freed from sin by it, but the flesh must be freed from corruption. Physical death must be abolished by physical life. There can be no immortality, and therefore no blessedness, unless the body is raised. This explains why the resurrection of Jesus occupies so large a place in the Apostle's system, for upon the fact of the resurrection depended the certainty that this new spiritual energy had been imparted. If Christ rose not, then the power of life was not manifest in him, nor could he communicate it. But Christ had this power; he must have risen in consequence of having it; he did rise. His resurrection was at once evidence and effect of his possessing the spiritual life. The Apostle's reasoning is not altogether clear upon this point; but we cannot pause to explain it. The matter of moment is the dogmatical significance of the resurrection.

The efficacy of Christ centres in his death. Christ must die because the flesh is the seat of sin. (Galat. v. 17, 19; Rom. viii. 3; vii. 18, 23, 24.) Christ by his death kills sin in the flesh. (Rom. vi. 3, 6; viii. 3.) This one death of Christ is made available and sufficient for all men through faith. (Rom. v. 18, 19; 2 Corin. v. 14.) In explaining this point, Paul uses the most extraordinary language. "Christ," he says, "is made a curse for us." (Galat. iii. 13.) He that seeks justification by the works of the law falls under a curse, because he cannot adequately perform them. Christ takes upon himself the penalty which the law decrees to sin, and so bears the curse that others had drawn down. Christ is sacrificed for us. (1 Corin. v. 7; and especially see Rom. iii. 25.) This last passage implies that Jesus was offered to God as a bloody sacrifice to propitiate his justice. And yet the Apostle expressly states that it is we who are reconciled to God, not God who is reconciled to us. (Rom. v. 10; 2 Corin. v. 19.)

Christ suffered as a substitute for mankind. (Galat. i. 4; Rom. iv. 25; viii. 3; 1 Corin. xv. 3; 2 Corin. v. 14.) It is hard to resist the impression that a vicarious efficacy is attributed to the death of Christ in these passages. If he died for sin, that is, for a cause that lay in the very

nature of sin, then his death must have made satisfaction for sin. He must, therefore, have died *instead* of men. They die in him as their substitute. This is expressly said in 2 Corin. v. 14. All are dead, because one has died, — of course in their place. Further, Christ is made sin for us. (2 Corin. v. 21.) That is to say, Christ, being sinless himself, was regarded by God as a sinful object, a person in whom sin might be punished. Christ is likewise made for us wisdom and righteousness and sanctification and redemption. (1 Corin. i. 30.)

Men are saved by faith, which causes that the unjust be counted as just. (Rom. iv. 5.) God himself must look upon the unrighteous man as righteous. It is not goodness or practical piety alone that saves people, but faith, which makes what is not to be as if it were, and what is to be as if it were not.

Christ, being risen, sits at the right hand of God, and makes intercession for us. (Rom. viii. 34.) God is to judge the world through Christ, at whose judgment-seat we must all appear. (Rom. xi. 16; 2 Corin. v. 10.)

Such, in very bald outline, is Paul's doctrine of the Redeemer's function. There may be differences of opinion with regard to the meaning of particular passages, but the general view is not to be mistaken. If, now, this view be contrasted with the view held by the early Jewish Christians, or with the doctrine about the Messiah's office contained in the first three Gospels, an immense, a total difference is manifest. Indeed, the mission of the Hebrew Messiah has not a single point in common with the mission of the Pauline Christ. And it is an historical fact that the Ebionites, that is to say the primitive Christians, rejected all the writings of Paul.

The office of the Redeemer determines his nature. We now pass to this question, the chief one of our inquiry. What must Christ have been in order to fulfil his work? Paul seems to have indulged in very little independent speculation upon the nature of Christ. His aim was directly a practical one; and the time for such deliberate speculation had not arrived. The Apostle's delineation of the Saviour is considerably wanting in metaphysical accuracy. But how it appeared to his mind is tolerably clear.

First of all, Christ is a man. This position was demanded by the whole doctrine of Paul, and especially by that portion of it which dwells upon the communication of new spiritual life to mankind. Such communication implies essential concurrence and sympathy. As the representative of sinful men, likewise, he must himself have been a man. Paul affirms this point unequivocally in Galat. iv. 4; Rom. i. 3, v. 15; 1 Corin. xv. 21, 47; which passages assert plainly that Christ was truly a man of human pedigree and mortal parentage.

But Christ was not a mere man. He was not a man like Adam. Christ was the *sinless* man. (2 Corin. v. 21.) His flesh was only the *likeness* of sinful flesh (Rom. viii. 3), by which phrase the Apostle indicates the sinlessness of his human nature. The body of Adam and of his descendants was the seat of sin and death. But Christ was free from sin and death, and must, therefore, have had a body unlike other men: a body that looked like a sinful one, but was not. But this body of Christ, though sinless, was liable to death, without, however, destroying the spirit.

Christ was the spiritual man. (1 Corin. xv. 45, 47; ii. 8; 2 Corin. iii. 17.) Adam, the earthly, animal man, is put in opposition to Christ, the spiritual, heavenly man, the manifest ideal of humanity. When Paul calls Christ "Lord from Heaven," — "Lord of Glory," — "Spirit," — he probably means to express no more than this: that Christ is essentially spiritual, that he is all spirit; not, however, that he contains the whole Spirit of God. So the Apostle calls Christ "the Image of God," not as if he was God's form, but only intending to say that he was a mirror in which the Divine glory was reflected; a lens that collected the beams of God's radiance and poured them upon the world; in the face of Jesus the light of God's countenance is revealed to us. This idea supposes Christ to be wholly translucent and spiritual, a being of pure light; but it also supposes him not to be the whole of the Spirit. It is noteworthy, that, according to Paul, the spiritual man is wrapped up germlike in the natural man; but we cannot dwell upon this doctrine long enough to explain it, and shall therefore say nothing.

In this idea of Paul's, that Christ is essentially spirit-

ual, we trace a remote connection with the older Ebionite doctrine. The Jewish Christians held that the Messiah was a man to whom the Spirit was imparted. Paul holds that he is still a man, but that he contains the Spirit naturally in himself. It is not probable, however, that Paul had any regard to the ancient view when he framed his own.

Christ as the Spirit was, of course, preëxistent. This is clearly asserted in the four Epistles from which we have gathered the Apostle's doctrine. But the passages implying the preëxistence of Christ as a separate, independent agent are neither so numerous nor so conclusive as many suppose. Paul never calls Christ God. Such an idea could not have entered into his scheme, except as a glaring contradiction. It would be impossible to weave it into his system. Nay, it would be impossible for Paul, Hebrew and monotheist as he is, to think of Christ as God, or to think of God as becoming man. He could not so confound the human and the divine. A very different stamp of mind from his was required to do that. All critics of any name, all, at least, of any authority, consider the passage in Romans ix. 5 to be a doxology, an ascription of praise to the Supreme God. The highest title that Paul gives to Christ is κύριος (Lord). The expressions in 1 Corin. x. 4 are to be taken symbolically. The manna and the rill that gave life to the Israelites in the wilderness were types of the communion supper; and the rock which followed them, according to the rabbins, was a symbol of the Redeemer, from whom flowed streams of living water. But the rock was no more the conscious Christ himself than was the manna or the fountain. 2 Corin. viii. 9 seems to say more distinctly that Christ was a high, angelic being: but the language, exactly rendered, makes no contrast of the earthly with the heavenly condition of the Saviour, but only of his external humility with his inward greatness. "He was poor," — not, he *became* poor, — but "he *was* poor although he was rich." He lived in penury and abasement, that he might enrich us with his abundance. This sense answers better, also, the purpose of exhortation which the Apostle has in view, since, with this understanding, the Saviour's conduct was an example to his followers. The probable interpretation

(v. 47 has been already given. The context
icient to show that no angelic nature is as-
hrist.

we have met with no difficulty. But there is
assage which is not so easily, we will not say
of, for we have not the smallest inclination to
dispose of any, — but is not so easily explained. They who study Paul's language with a single eye to its meaning are in great doubt concerning it. The passage is 1 Corin. viii. 6. The titles, "God" applied to the Father, and "Lord" applied to Christ, intimate clearly the subordinate rank of the latter. The relation is expressly described as parallel to that existing between the Pagan gods and inferior powers. In regard to the meaning of the words "τὰ πάντα," "all things," we must compare 2 Corin. v. 17, 18, where nearly the same language is used. "All things are newly created. And all things are of God, who has reconciled us to himself by (διά) Jesus Christ." Here all things are done by God, and all things are done by Christ. The "τὰ πάντα" comprehends the whole work of redemption, which Paul repeatedly speaks of as wrought by God through Christ. Why may not the same significance be attached to the phrase in 1 Corin. viii. 6? This is one interpretation of the passage, a very possible one; one, too, that harmonizes perfectly with the Apostle's general system. It has no less an advocate than Dr. Baur, who certainly cannot be accused of any dogmatical preference. On the other hand, critics of almost equal eminence have maintained that in this passage Christ is made the instrumental cause of creation. The contrast in which God is set to the heathen idols, who are nothing, and have nothing, and can claim nothing, while he made and owns all creatures, makes it all but certain that the "τὰ πάντα" that come from him are the universe; and if "τὰ πάντα" means the universe in the first clause of the verse, it must mean the same in the last, and Christ becomes thus an agent in creating the worlds. It is impossible for us to decide between these two interpretations. The first is certainly more accordant with the general spirit and form of the Pauline theology; the second seems to be verbally the more correct. But even if we accept the last, the passage by no means asserts that Christ

possesses the Supreme Power, or is even invested with it. For the work of material creation was supposed to have been done by a being inferior to the Supreme. The language thus explained only affirms of Christ an active, operative preëxistence as an angelic creature. Perhaps Paul taught this doctrine. But if he did, the passage before us is the only one in these four Epistles that contains it. He could not, therefore, have built much upon it. His idea appears to have been, that Christ was essentially and substantially Spirit; Spirit in the same sense in which God is Spirit. As such he existed before his appearance in human form; not, however, as an archangel, or as any definite active creature. This Christ, who had always existed substantially, took on him the semblance of a sinful body, that he might redeem men. The Spirit that constitutes the inner personality of Jesus, in its sanctifying Messianic influence, is the "Spirit of Righteousness." The same Spirit, becoming a quick principle in mankind, moving and transforming, is the "Spirit that giveth life." There is diversity of operation; but it is the same Spirit that worketh all in all.

This idea of Christ's nature suggests to us many questions which Paul himself has not seen fit to answer, and which we, therefore, shall not so much as propound. It is easy, on the whole, to perceive what his doctrine was, and whence it arose, and what are its bearings. That it is very far in advance of the Christology in the first three Gospels, and cannot be dogmatically reconciled with it, is sufficiently obvious. Nevertheless, by a natural law of development, it might be its offspring. Paul's doctrine, as we have defined it, stands half-way between what went before and what followed. It occupies middle ground between the Hebrew conception of Messiah and the Logos of Alexandrian speculation.

As we pass from the four Epistles we have been considering to the others ascribed, though with less certainty of evidence, to Paul, we find ourselves in a very unfamiliar region of thought. The difference in the tone of speculation between the earlier and later Epistles, as they have been usually classified, has always been acknowledged, virtually or explicitly. It is a significant fact, that the proof-texts in favor of the subordination of

the Son have invariably been taken from the letters written in the first epoch, while the proof-texts in favor of the Son's coördination with the Father have been quoted from the writings belonging to the second epoch. And the explanation commonly offered and accepted is, that a change took place in the views of the Apostle himself; an explanation which, besides being unsupported by historical proof, is not adequate to the case. With this, however, we have nothing to do. The discrepancy has long been confessed. Let us now exhibit the character and extent of it.

The Epistle to the Philippians gives the next step in the development of doctrine respecting Christ's nature. In this Epistle is one remarkable passage, betraying an acquaintance with Gnostic ideas; chap. ii. verses 6, 7, 8. We shall present Dr. F. C. Baur's interpretation of this passage, as being the most sagacious, and at the same time the most natural. But first we will undertake a translation of the 6th verse: "Who, although he was in the form of God, thought that an equality with God was a thing he ought not rapaciously to grasp at," — "non rapiendum sibi duxit." What, now, can be the meaning of such extraordinary language? If Christ was already God, what presumption could there be in his claiming to be God? If he was not God, what an unheard of, what a preposterous claim! Yet the writer says that he might, but did not. He might have advanced such a pretension, but under his circumstances would not think of it, for it would involve an "actus rapiendi," an act of violent rapacity. Such an idea would be perfectly incomprehensible to us, but for a well-known conception of the Gnostics, in their philosophy of Æons. An Æon was a conscious thought of God, a distinct idea of the Divine mind, considered as an active spiritual being. The Pleroma or Fulness was the entire consciousness of the Absolute Being, and of course comprehended in itself all the individual Æons. Each Æon of the Pleroma was one idea of God come to consciousness. God was one; the Æons were many. Each Æon was potentially and in substance divine, though finite. By nature it was drawn toward God; by limitation it was kept away from him. No Æon could overpass its condition, or comprehend more of

God than belonged to it as one part of the divine consciousness. One of the Æons, however, undertook to do this. It was the Gnostic Σοφία, who conceived the extravagant, passionate, unnatural desire to penetrate into the very interior of God's being, and to become one with the absolute. The act is described as a τόλμη; a bold, presumptuous, violent endeavor; for the Æon wished to appropriate to itself what did not belong to its nature. But the act was a spiritual one. The Æon would be "ἴσα τῷ θεῷ," not identical with the absolute, but in perfect harmony with it; it would spiritually apprehend and embrace the whole perfection of God. Had not the act been conceived as a purely intellectual or spiritual one, it never would have been conceived at all. The Æon has undertaken what is absolutely impossible, and of course fails. Having attempted by a hasty impulse to transgress the boundary of its spiritual nature, it is made aware of its limitation, and falls into emptiness (κένωμα).

The resemblance to this curious philosophism is so striking in the passage from Philippians, that we cannot resist the belief that the writer had it in his mind. Each peculiar feature appears, only modified enough to meet the author's purpose. There is the same opposition of being and not being. Christ is, and is not; has, and has not. On one hand, his equality with God is not realized; on the other hand, it potentially exists. He did not have it actually, for in that case how could he desire it? He might have had it, otherwise he could not have renounced it. He renounced it because the work of redemption demanded that he should not at first assume divine honors. This is the only particular in which the writer varies from the Gnostic conception. He gives a moral turn to the philosophical thought. The Æon tries and fails. Christ does not try, but renounces. The Æon falls. Christ humbles himself, by a free act of will. It is remarkable, as confirming this explanation, that the same word, κένωσις, which described the abyss of emptiness into which the Æon fell, is used in this passage to express Christ's state of voluntary humiliation.

One or two other phrases are equally significant of the class of speculations to which these verses belong. The word μορφή was familiar to the Gnostics, and bore a pe-

culiar sense. The μορφή of a being was that which constituted his individual character; it was expressive of his substance. Thus the Gnostics said of that fallen Æon, that when it was cast from the Pleroma it became ἄμορφος, "formless," that is to say, it had lost its spiritual personality; and the first thing Christ did, when he came from the Pleroma to its aid, was to bring it to itself, to restore its μορφή. "To be in the form of God," and "to be equal with God," are equivalent expressions, implying divine resemblance and harmony, — the being Godlike, — the being substantially divine. If all this be not of crystalline clearness, perhaps it is not our fault. We cannot go farther now into the abstruse metaphysics that distinguish between a being who comprehends the absolute greatness of the Father, who is "ὁμοῖός τε καὶ ἴσος τῷ προβαλλόντι," "ἀρχὴ καὶ μόρφωσις παντὸς τοῦ πληρώματος," and the original Father himself.

There is, also, a trace of Gnostic Docetism in verse 7, where it is affirmed that Christ was made in the likeness of man, "ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων," — not in the "likeness of *sinful* body," as in Rom. viii. 3, but in the likeness of *body*. Paul says, Christ was only the semblance of a *sinful* man; this writer says, Christ was only the semblance of a man. Therefore he was no true man, but an apparition. In the 8th verse the word σχῆμα, rendered "fashion," conveys the same thought, denoting a transient, superficial, perishing cloak, or veil. (Conf. 1 Corin. vii. 31.) The 10th verse describes the dominion of Christ as extended over the three spheres of heaven, earth, and the under-world, which also reminds us of Gnostic speculations, and makes us more confident in our interpretation of the preceding passage. Dr. Baur thinks the Epistle to the Philippians must have been written at an early stage of Christian speculation, when foreign theories were freely and innocently accepted, with such modifications as suited the author's practical purpose. There was as yet no dreaded heresy; opinions were not as yet suspected; all the materials of thought were lying about, to be worked up by every thinker of the time. It was not surprising, therefore, that an author should adopt a Gnostic conception to explain to himself and to others what he thought of the nature of Christ.

Next to Philippians in the order of development stands the Epistle to the Hebrews. Here we find a further advance in the speculations concerning Christ. We are struck at once, on reading this book, with the prominence that is given to the nature of Christ over his function. Paul dwells chiefly upon the office of Jesus; this writer enlarges on his being. He is more speculative than Paul. And, moreover, while Paul contrasts Christianity and Judaism, plainly asserts the abrogation of the Mosaic Law, and meets Hebrew exclusiveness with Christian liberality, the author of this Epistle is anxious to reconcile the two, and to show how much of each is in the other.

His whole idea of the Messiah has the Hebrew coloring. Christ is the high-priest; a priest for ever having "the power of an endless life." (vii. 16, 21.) By the sacrifice of himself, he has entered at once into the holy of holies. (ix. 12, 14; iv. 14.) The mission of Christ is but vaguely expressed. He has purged our sins. (i. 3.) He has tasted death for every man; he has destroyed the Devil, who had the power of death. (ii. 9, 14.) He has made reconciliation for the sins of the people. (ii. 17.) He is the author of eternal salvation to all that obey him. (v. 9.) He lives for ever to make intercession for men. (vii. 25.) His blood purges men's conscience from dead works. (ix. 14.) He has offered himself up once to bear the sins of many. (ix. 26, 28; x. 10; and elsewhere.) He will come again to bring to salvation such as look for him. (ix. 28.)

The writer's conception of the nature of Christ wavers incessantly, and even betrays decided inconsistencies. Thus (i. 2), he is described as the agent by whom God made the worlds. He is the appointed heir of all things. (i. 3.) He is the brightness of God's glory, and the express image of his person, upholding all things by the word of his power. (i. 3.) He is the "first-begotten," and all the angels of God are bidden to worship him. (i. 6.) In verse 8th, the Old Testament is quoted as calling him God, while in the 9th verse he is only God's anointed. It is Christ who in the beginning laid the foundations of the earth, and the heavens are the work of his hands. They shall perish, but he shall endure the same, and his years are never to end. He is declared

imperishable in his own nature. (xiii. 8.) He sits at the right hand of the Majesty on high. In these passages Jesus is placed above all created beings; in fact, he is described as the Logos, though that title is not given him. But, notwithstanding all this elevation, his incarnation was a humiliating descent. (ii. 9; v. 8.) He was made lower than the angels that he might suffer, and higher because he had suffered. Christ was *appointed* to his office. (iii. 2; v. 5, 10.) By suffering he became competent to fulfil his work, (ii. 10, 17; v. 8, 9), and even obtained his glory through suffering. (i. 3, 9; ii. 9; vii. 26.) He was in all points tempted as men are, but without sin. (iv. 15.) Christ is strictly subordinated to God. (x. 31; xiii. 20; and elsewhere.) God is the Judge. (xii. 23.) There is a wide distance between Christ's heavenly and his earthly existence. On one side, he is a being of divine substance, — by nature higher than the angels, — born before the worlds and consciously pre-existent. On the other side, he is a man, suffering and tempted, charged by God with a divine mission, and reaping a reward for having accomplished it, dependent upon God, as a mortal creature, even for his being. He has human frailties, and is conscious of human wants.

Such curious incongruities betray the fluctuating movement of speculation at the time the Epistle to the Hebrews was written. There can be little doubt of the author's acquaintance with Philo's works, for the introduction of the letter is wholly in the style of the Alexandrian theology. But he is cautious of adopting Philo's opinions, as is evident from the remoteness of his allusion to the Logos. This word is introduced only once, and then without any reference to Christ. The timid attempt to apply the attributes of the Logos to Jesus seems to prove that such an association was novel, and of doubtful propriety. Had the author written but a little later, his language would probably have been much bolder, and his conception far more clear and harmonious.

The next type of doctrine concerning the nature of Christ is found in the Epistles to the Colossians and Ephesians. We place these two letters together, for they belong together. They are marked throughout by the same doctrinal peculiarities. Some critics decide that

Ephesians is only a dilution of Colossians. Be that as it may, they are closely related, and must be considered as containing substantially one form of doctrine. The person of Christ is the great point labored in these Epistles; it is the question of controversy. The theory of Christ's nature is maintained, according to Dr. Baur, against the Gnostic Ebionites. "These people said that Christ was an angel, created before all beings, exalted above the angels, the ruler of every created thing; but at the same time they placed the angels in a coördinate relation to Christ, ascribed to them a redeeming and mediating power, invoked them in that capacity, and regarded Christ but as one of the archangels." If such a view as this is deemed unworthy by the writer of these Epistles, his own view must be far in advance of any we have yet seen, and we find that it is.

In Coloss. i. 15, 16, 17, Christ is called "the image of the invisible God, the first-born of every creature." "By him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth, visible and invisible, whether thrones, or dominions, or principalities, or powers; all things were created by him and for him. He is before all things, and by him all things consist." In Ephesians i. 20 he is said to be "far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come." It is impossible to mistake the meaning of this language. Here are the regions of the heavenly world filled with angels rising above each other, rank upon rank, in regular gradation, — a conception which occurs nowhere in the genuine Pauline Epistles; and at the summit of all these, their creator and sustainer, is Christ. He is the absolute principle or cause of all existence; he is also the final cause of creation, both material and spiritual; Christ is all and in all. (Coloss. iii. 11.) It is only an extension of the same idea when Christ is called the Pleroma. (Coloss. i. 19; ii. 9.) For such is the meaning of the expressions, "it pleased God that in him should all fulness dwell," and "in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily." To call Christ the Pleroma is equivalent to saying that he is the perfect expression of the conscious thought and feeling of the absolute God. This Pleroma, instead of being filled with a multitude of

Æons, is exhausted by Christ. At the same time, with curious inconsistency, the writer of Colossians intimates that by *the pleasure of God*, not by virtue of his own nature, Christ was the Pleroma. According to Ephesians i. 22, 23, the Church is the Pleroma of Christ. And in other passages (Ephes. iii. 19; iv. 13) the Christians are exhorted to grow into the knowledge and love of Christ, that they may be filled with his Pleroma, or fulness. Possibly these verses contain an allusion to another feature in the doctrine of the Gnostics, who imagined the Æons created males and females, and supposed them to form unions or marriages with each other. The Only-begotten is espoused to Truth, the Logos to Life, and so forth. Here, Christ is wedded to the Church. The parallelism is carried out even farther. Thus, in Ephes. v. 23–33, Christ is the head of the Church, and the husband is the head of the wife. Therefore, as the Church is subject to Christ, so the wife must be subject to the husband in every thing, and the husband is to love the wife even as Christ loved the Church, and gave himself for it. This union of Christ with his Church is the great mystery, described in chap. iii. verses 9, 10.

Again, Christ is the body of God (Coloss. ii. 9); and the Church is the body of Christ (Ephes. i. 23; iv. 12, 16). So, likewise, as before, the woman is the body of the man (Ephes. v. 28), and the husband is to nourish and cherish the wife, "his flesh," even as the Lord the Church. The same idea of the Pleroma recurs. Christ is the Pleroma in the most absolute sense. God imparts his own fulness to him. He imparts his fulness to the Church; and through the Church, as the fulness and body of Christ, the manifold wisdom of God is made known to the principalities and powers of heaven, and to the disciples on earth. (Ephes. iii. 9, 10, 11.) That the term "Pleroma" is to be taken in its Gnostic sense, can hardly admit of a doubt. If it occurred in one of the acknowledged Epistles of Paul, we might hesitate about giving it so technical a meaning. But in these productions, the whole scope of the speculation is Gnostic. They are full of Gnostic terminology. The words, "*μυστήριον*," "*σοφία*," "*γνῶσις*," betray their origin. The emphasis laid upon "*αἰών*," "*γενέαι τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰωνῶν*," "*πρόθεσις τῶν αἰωνῶν*," "*αἰὼν τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*," marks indu-

bitably the author's peculiarity of thought. In Ephesians ii. 2, the Devil, after the Gnostic form of speech, is called "ἄρχων τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος"; and afterward (vi. 12) we find the equivalent phrase, "κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους." These expressions, and many others that might be mentioned, especially when taken in their connection, make it all but certain that the author carried Valentinian speculations into his conception of Christ. There is reason to think that both Epistles were written during the early prevalence of such speculations, while as yet they attracted no suspicion. It is chronologically impossible that any Gnostic system should have originated from these productions. There is no sign that any Gnostic system is combated in them. Only one other supposition remains, the one just given; namely, that the elements that composed the later systems were accepted, and appropriated to the writer's purpose.

Beside the controversial aim which the author or authors of these letters had in view, there was also a practical aim which we must notice. The office of Christ corresponds to his nature. The condition of the Church probably suggested in this instance, too, the theory of its founder. Little is said in Colossians or Ephesians about the function of Christ; but that little, though very obvious and simple, is significant. From many passages in both Epistles, but especially in that to the Ephesians, we infer the existence of conflicting parties in the Church. The duty of the time was therefore reconciliation, fusion, the healing of divisions. And in this consists the work of Christ. He is the harmonizer, emphatically the reconciler. God has gathered "together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and on earth." (Ephes. i. 10.) He is our peace; he has broken down the middle wall of partition. In himself he has made of twain one new man, that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross. (ii. 14, 15, 16. See also Coloss. i. 20.) "Having made peace by the blood of the cross, by him to reconcile all things unto himself, whether things in earth, or things in heaven." The atoning efficacy of Christ's death extends to the spiritual world. He has despoiled principalities and powers, making open show of them, and triumphing over them. (Coloss. ii. 15.) He hath delivered from the

power of darkness; in him we have redemption through his blood, and the forgiveness of our sins. (Coloss. i. 13, 14.) He is to appear and bring his followers into glory. (Coloss. iii. 4.) He has blotted out the handwriting of ordinances, nailing it to the cross. He sits at the right hand of God, and the life of Christians is hidden in him.

A very important passage as explaining the office of Christ is Ephes. iv. 8–11; a passage which has called forth a vast amount of criticism, but whose meaning really seems to lie upon the surface, and must have been overlooked because it was so near the eye. The writer plainly means to describe the universal sweep of Christ's influence, the ascending and descending agency of the Redeemer, reaching from highest height to lowest depth, embracing in its blessed and reconciling spirit the whole universe of living souls. Christ ascends and descends. He goes up far above all the heavens, he descends into the lowest abysses of the earth. But the descent is first, into the regions of the departed spirits. The captives he leads away are the souls he has delivered from bondage in Hades. The gifts he dispenses are the influences of his spirit, bestowed upon the Church. He dispenses them after his ascension, because as the absolute Pleroma he must fill all things, and bring the farthest extremes into harmony with each other. Thus we perceive the connection in which this doctrine of Christ's descent into hell stands to the other doctrines about his nature and mission. As the Pleroma, Christ must fill all things. But "all things" include not the heaven and earth only, but also the under-world, which it becomes necessary for the Redeemer to visit, before his work can be complete.

It will be unnecessary to make any comparison between the doctrine of these two Epistles and that which we have ascribed to Paul. The whole cast of thought is changed. The personality of Christ has become more distinct. He has assumed a far loftier eminence. The sphere of his influence, too, is enlarged beyond measure. At the same time, his mission is very ill-defined, and has lost the precision and point which it had in Paul's conception. We have passed into another region of thought. The practical, material sphere of Jewish speculation is behind us. We are entering into the clouds.

There is nothing that calls for notice in either of the remaining Epistles attributed to Paul. The Christology of Thessalonians is not marked. Neither is that of the Pastoral Letters, with the exception of the single celebrated verse, 1 Timothy iii. 16, which, being of exceedingly doubtful reading, cannot be used for a dogmatic purpose. We pass at once, therefore, to the writings of John, which exhibit the last stage of doctrine in the New Testament.

Before we state in order the theory of Christ's nature as contained in the fourth Gospel, we must be allowed a few words by way of preface; for this Gospel exhibits the influence of the Alexandrian philosophy on Christian thought. So much has been written of late about the Alexandrian philosophy, that it will be necessary to mention only one or two of its characteristics, as they bear upon the question before us.

In the Hebrew Scriptures, God is represented as having intimate communication with the earth; — first, by his own visible presence; then by ministering angels; and later still, by visions and dreams. The Jehovah of the ancient Israelites was a being half human, with mortal limitations and passions, as conceived by the sensuous mind. The heathen nations, the Greeks especially, being more purely intellectual, rejected this notion of the Deity. God, in their view, was invisible and incomprehensible, holy and pure. He could not come in contact with coarse, material things. These two classes of conflicting opinions met at Alexandria, and in that fiery furnace of the world's thought became fused together. A single man represents this union. It is Philo. Philo was both Jew and philosopher. As philosopher, he believed that God was invisible and incommunicable, to be apprehended only by the intellect. As Jew, he believed that God had been conversed with and seen by the human senses. To reconcile these two discordant opinions, recourse was had to the doctrine of intermediate spirits, or "powers," which were the active thoughts and faculties of God. These emanations were sometimes described as impersonal ideas, sometimes as conscious beings, according to the place and duty assigned them. In explaining the passages of the Old Testament in which Jehovah is spoken of as appearing to men, they

are introduced as agents distinct from God; at other times, they are regarded only as manifestations of God. Chief among these "powers," sometimes considered as including and absorbing them all, was the Logos, the Divine Reason; at once the sum of God's ideas, and the substance of his creative energy. This Logos Philo called a divine being, θεός, regarded now as a separate existence, and again as a personification of the Supreme Mind. The Old Testament in many places countenanced the adoption of such a theory, and furnished abundant occasions for using it. The strong personifications of wisdom in the Proverbs and in the Apocrypha seemed to bring Judaism within the sphere of speculative thought, and at the same time went far towards suggesting a solution of the passages in earlier books which described God as invested with a human form and bounded by human limitations. Thus Philo reconciled his Hebrew faith with his Pagan science. Moses and Plato could peacefully repose side by side. One might be a good Alexandrine philosopher, without being any the worse Jew; and one might be a good Jew, without being any the worse Alexandrine philosopher; and all through the mediation of the Logos, which was an unspoken idea, or an independent person, according to circumstances. The opinions of Greek and Jew touching the nature of God were hereby brought together. But there remained another point of difference in regard to the nature of Christ.

The Jewish Christians believed Christ to be the Jewish Messiah, foretold by the ancient prophets. They tried to establish their opinion by showing how the old predictions were fulfilled in him, without the least regard for the obvious truth and sense of Scripture. The Gospel of Matthew exhibits both the extent to which this mode of reasoning was carried, and the manner of conducting it.

The heathen nations would have nothing to do with this Hebrew Messiah. They had no respect for Jewish prophet, priest, or king. The had no respect for Jewish prejudices. If they accepted Christ, it must be on grounds wholly independent of his national character. There were two ways of bringing these two parties together. One, the extension of the Redeemer's office;

the other, the elevation of his person. Paul adopted the first of these methods; John adopted the second. On one hand, Paul concedes much to the Mosaic dispensation, finds the prophecy of Christ there, views it as preliminary to the new and grander faith, and treats the Old Testament as a book of symbols, prefiguring, by historical incident and divine institution, the spiritual facts of Christianity. On the other hand, he lays a broader basis for the mission of Jesus, a foundation common to all mankind; he demonstrates a need which the Jew feels as deeply as the Greek, and which the Greek may claim to have satisfied as well as the Jew. So that, differ as they might upon many points, both Gentile and Hebrew could profess the same faith, and on the same grounds.

John likewise connects Christianity with Judaism, conceding more, however, to the Gentiles. The brazen serpent typifies the Son of man. (iii. 14.) "Salvation is of the Jews." (iv. 22.) This whole fourth chapter is very significant. Moses is said to have written of Christ. (v. 46.) Father Abraham rejoiced to see Christ's day. (viii. 56.) Esaias saw his glory and spake of him. (xii. 41.) But again. The true Light lighteth *every man* that cometh into the world. (i. 9.) There are other sheep not of this (Jewish) fold. There must be one fold and one shepherd. (x. 16.) Greeks are mentioned as seeking Jesus. Christ, lifted up, will draw *all* men unto him. (xii. 20, 32.) The course of conduct ascribed to Pilate, and the favorable character given to the Roman governor, as contrasted with Jewish malignity, are also indications of the writer's disposition towards the Gentiles.

But the grand doctrine of John is the Logos theory, which he adopts from Philo, or at least from the speculations of the Alexandrine school. Which he adopts, we say; for there is no evidence, or shadow of evidence, in the whole Gospel, that this doctrine is opposed, or called in question. On the contrary, it is assumed without argument or apology, and with as little ceremony is applied to Christ. In the first thirteen verses of the opening chapter, the preëxistent Logos is described. He "was in the beginning with God." He was personally operative. "All things were made by him." He com-

municated with mankind. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men." He was in the world, but the world was a region of darkness and knew him not. His own chosen people knew him not. Nevertheless, there were those who knew him, and believed in him even then; on them he conferred the privilege of becoming sons of God, and they were said to be "born of God."

In process of time "the Logos was made flesh," or became incarnate, and dwelt on earth, a visible person. This incarnation adds nothing to the amount of being in Christ, or to his power of action, nor does it involve any change or modification in his nature. It only answers the end of making his being more manifest to the world. (i. 5, 10, 11, 14.) Let us examine this point a little closer. The Logos assumes a body as the historical Jesus. But this body makes no essential part of the person. It is nothing but a shell, an instrument, an organ. This is nowhere asserted, but it is many times implied. There are singular apparitions and hidings, which can be accounted for on no other supposition. The historical every now and then vanishes into the *docetic*. An instance of this occurs in chap. vii. In verse 10, it is said that Jesus went up to a feast "as it were in secret"; that is, after the manner of one who would not be recognized. The meaning is not that he went up privately, or alone, but that he went up unperceived. His brethren insisted upon his accompanying them openly. He refused, and yet he went up, not, however, like other people, but *incognito*. Thus we escape from the apparent equivocation in the words of Jesus. That such is the writer's meaning is apparent from the circumstance, that, when he appeared in Jerusalem, the people who had seen him repeatedly and familiarly did not know him, and treated him as a stranger. (vii. 15, 20.) Another account, of Christ's vanishing in the crowd, is related in chap. viii. 59. "Jesus made himself secret (withdrew from sight, became invisible), and thus passed out of the temple." This is the literal rendering of the words, and it is only by a forced construction that they can be interpreted otherwise. How could Jesus hide himself in a great crowd, and at the same time pass through the midst of them? To have passed

through in his own proper shape unnoticed, would have been impossible, even if the phraseology admitted of such an interpretation, for he was the engrossing object of interest. A fair weighing of the language leaves no doubt that it describes Jesus as making himself invisible. Similar occurrences are mentioned in x. 39 and xii. 36. They all imply that the body of Christ was only a cloak or form which he could put off and on, or change at will.

So much for the fleshly exterior of Christ. His interior, his mind, his whole intellectual being, was the Logos. Of a separate human soul, no hint is given. Every thing in the Gospel is against it. Not only is Jesus supposed to possess but a single nature; there is positive and abundant evidence that this nature was the Logos. He is endowed with superhuman power of insight and foresight. (i. 42, 47, 48; ii. 25.) There is no immaculate conception, or birth of any kind, because the writer's point of view precludes it. The Logos was already existing consciously, which makes a birth superfluous. Jesus passes through no period of childhood, has no experience of growth or development, as in the other Gospels. A close examination convinces us that the baptism is not alluded to in the fourth Gospel. It must have been put forward prominently if mentioned at all; but really no place is allowed for it. The only words that call it to mind are the words, "Upon whom thou shalt see the Spirit descending," etc., the very insertion of which makes it more than likely that the writer consciously and carefully avoided the incident they were associated with. That incident, signifying that Christ was an inspired man, would have been inconsistent with his whole theory. For the same reason, the temptation is omitted. The very idea of a temptation, of a conflict with Satan, whereby Christ should be prepared for his Messianic office, is inadmissible if he is the Logos. Such a trial would not so much be needless as it would be inconceivable.

Once more, we find no Gethsemane in the fourth Gospel. The single passage that stands in place of the agony in the garden is xii. 27, and that is a passing exclamation, which seems to proceed half from the understanding and half from the heart. Why was this interesting and significant event passed by in silence, if

not that it did not belong, and could not belong, to the writer's theory of Christ's nature? We notice throughout his Gospel, that Jesus is all but entirely free from the infirmities which, as Jewish Messiah, he bore and felt. The Logos could not suffer.

. Further, that Christ is the Logos accounts for the peculiar place assigned to miracles in this Gospel. They are called signs, and are wrought simply for the purpose of attracting notice to Jesus. They are no evidence of his truth; Jesus takes frequent occasion to rebuke those who viewed them in that light. He is his own evidence. He wishes people to believe without a sign; and he regards those who are converted by seeing his wonderful works as no better than the unconverted. This point is too plain to insist upon. References in support of it will occur to every one.

The Logos theory is perceptible in all the speeches that are put into the mouth of Jesus, as the language attributed to him in the fifth and sixth chapters abundantly proves. But most extraordinary, perhaps, is its influence upon the account of the resurrection. Jesus rises, — speaks to Mary, — ascends immediately to heaven, — returns, — and imparts the Holy Spirit to the disciples. His going and coming are mysterious; he enters the chamber through the closed door, and vanishes. Again he appears in the same manner, to give Thomas palpable proof of his being in the flesh; but this piece of condescension is only made an occasion for rebuking once more all who ask for such evidence, and blessing all who believe without seeing. Verses 19–22 of chap. xx. contain the historical fulfilment of such passages as vii. 39, xiv. 12, xvi. 7, 16, 28. The whole purpose of the resurrection was, according to Christ's repeated declaration, the gift of the Holy Spirit. But before this could be bestowed, he must ascend to the Father. "It is good for you," he tells the disciples, "that I should go away; for if I go not away, the Comforter, which is the Holy Spirit, cannot come to you; but if I go, I will send him to you." "A little while and ye shall not see me; again a little while, and ye shall see me, because I am going to my Father." This is precisely what happens. Jesus rises, — tells Mary not to detain him, for he is going to the Father, — and the very same evening the disciples receive the Spirit. Jesus, as he had announced, "goes

back where he was before"; that is, reassumes his heavenly glory as the Logos. The Gospel closes with the twentieth chapter. There are several interesting points of critical inquiry connected with this account of the resurrection; but want of space compels us to leave them unnoticed. We have only said what was necessary to confirm our position, that Christ is the Logos, and maintains the character of Logos throughout the Gospel. We must now turn to other points. In each preceding stage of opinion respecting Christ, that of Hebrews, and even the more advanced one of Colossians and Ephesians, the earthly condition of Jesus is described as a state of humiliation. He takes upon himself the form of a servant. He humbles himself. His death is a reproach and a shame. There is nothing of this in the fourth Gospel. The Incarnation, so far from being an eclipse of his glory, is the decisive manifestation of it. The death on the cross, even, is not only no dishonor, it is the crown of glory; it is positive exaltation.

Christ is the Logos, — clothed with Divine attributes, — the only-begotten Son, who came down from heaven, — "who is in heaven." He is called *θεός*, a divine being, but never *ὁ θεός*, the Supreme God. Neither is he homoousian with God. There are passages that seem to affirm this, but they are not quite equal to the weight of such a doctrine. Jesus says of himself, "I and my Father are one." (x. 30.) "The Father is in me and I in him." (x. 38.) But he uses the same language of his disciples. "At that day ye shall know that I am in my Father, and ye in me, and I in you." (xiv. 20.) "Holy Father, keep through thine own name those whom thou hast given me, that they may be one, even as we are one." (xvii. 11.) "And the glory which thou gavest me, I have given them, that they may be one, even as we are one." (xvii. 22.) Union, or unity, is not, therefore, identity of nature. The term may be used in a physical or metaphysical, a moral or a mystical sense, and with a narrower or broader range of significance. There is nothing to make us think that the communion between Christ and God is essentially different from the union between Christians and God. Besides, according to the repeated declaration of Jesus himself in many passages, the Son is decidedly subordinate to the Father.

"The Son can do nothing of himself." (v. 19.) "I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father, who hath sent me." (v. 30.) "My Father is greater than I." (xiv. 28.) Stronger still, Christ calls God his God. "I ascend to my Father and your Father; to my God, and your God." (xx. 17.) Jesus always speaks of himself as commissioned by the Father. He keeps the Father's commandments. (xv. 10.) The Son hath life in himself; but it is the Father who has given it to him. (v. 26.) All judgment belongs to the Son; but the Father has committed it to him. (v. 22.) The Son gives eternal life; — but only to as many as God allows; the power is from God. (xvii. 2.) The glory of Christ is conferred by the Father. (xvii. 22.) Jesus lives by the Father. (vi. 57.) Language of this kind might be quoted almost without limit, and from every part of the Gospel, showing the strict subordination of the Son. All that he possesses is derived.

It is time now that we should say something of the function of Christ according to the fourth Gospel. We have here no labored system of dogmatics. The whole sum of Christianity is centred in this one fact; — the manifestation of the Divine glory in the Only-begotten Son. This manifestation is of itself the coming of salvation; this manifestation is the gift of God's life to mankind. Christ overcomes the power of darkness and evil by revealing truth. He has come a light into the world. The efficacy of his death is described in very general terms. There is no doctrine of atonement, vicarious or sacrificial. Christ is said to "take away the sins of the world," — to give his "flesh for the life of the world"; but such expressions are quite indefinite. "If I be lifted up from the earth, I will draw all men unto me." "Unless a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone; but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." This apparently means that there is no efficacy in Christ's death, but only in some influence in him, or proceeding from him, which operates after his death.

The doctrine of the second coming of Christ does not appear in this Gospel. The advent is purely a spiritual fact, not at all an historical incident. The Redeemer "comes" when his light enters the mind, when his love penetrates the heart. There is, consequently, no judg-

ment day. The judgment itself is a spiritual experience. "He that believeth not is condemned already, *because* he has not believed." "And this is the condemnation; that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light." Men are judged by the condition of their own being, not by any formal process.

The disciples have no spiritual life out of Christ. He is the vine, they are the branches. Without him they can do nothing. If they abide in him and let his word abide in them, they may ask what they will, and it shall be done unto them. (Chap. xv.)

Men are saved, not by common piety and goodness, but by faith in Christ as the Logos. (viii. 24, and elsewhere.) We find none of those noble, massive, clear principles of duty that are so abundant in the other Gospels. The very virtues are theological. The love of one's brother, which is made so prominent, seems to be a kind of mystical, sublimated thing, that is not exactly an affection, but rather a contemplation. It comprehends faith and works. It is a piece of speculation; a part of the scheme. Christians have eternal life from Christ. This is asserted again and again, with endless iteration. The believer enjoys a concurrent life with Christ and God. (xiv. 17, 20, 23.) Christ will have his followers pray in his name. (xiv. 13; xv. 23.) He makes intercession for them. Such are a few of the offices of Christ. They are all modifications of a single thought, and refer most distinctly to the conception already given of his nature.

A striking feature in the Christology of this Gospel is its doctrine of the Holy Spirit. What that doctrine is, it is exceedingly difficult to determine. It may be doubted even whether there is any perfectly consistent and finished doctrine on the subject. But at all events, the Spirit has something very like an individuality of its own. It is mentioned as a distinct person, having a special work. "He shall reprove the world of sin, and righteousness and judgment." He shall guide the disciples into all truth. He shall show things to come. He shall glorify Christ; and shall show unto men the things of Christ. He shall bring to the disciples' remembrance all that Christ has ever said unto them. He shall abide with them for ever. But then, again, the Spirit seems to

be identified with Christ; as when he says, "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you." "If I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself." At times the Spirit almost loses its personality, and is only the "Spirit of truth, which the world cannot receive because it seeth him not." From some passages we should infer that the Spirit was detached from Christ at his death. "He dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." From others it would appear that Christ as Logos had the Spirit infolded in himself, but not as Logos incarnate. Hence, before he can send the Comforter, he must return to the Father and resume his original glory. "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you." "He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also; and greater than these shall he do, because I go to my Father." Going to the Father was equivalent to receiving his glory, the glory which he had with him before the world was.

But the suppositions respecting the Holy Spirit are not yet exhausted; for there are expressions that intimate pretty clearly, that it was sent by God, and that Christ's death was only the occasion of the Father's sending it into the world. "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter." "The Comforter whom the Father will send in my name." "The Spirit of truth which proceeded from the Father." Perhaps it is impossible to combine all these statements in one doctrine. The nearest approach to it has been made by Köstlin, who says that the Spirit belonged jointly to the Father and Son, but that it became a separate hypostasis only after the death and ascension of Christ, and was then subordinate both to Father and Son. His explanation certainly reconciles many of the apparently inconsistent expressions, if it does not reconcile them all. So much is plain; — the Spirit is represented as a conscious person; he has an appointed and endless work to perform; he enters upon it after Christ's return to the Father; he is brought down by Christ himself. Thus there are three heavenly personages associated in the work of redemption. The Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. Of course these three are not triune in any sense. They do not constitute the Trinity of Christian

theology; scarcely even do they suggest that doctrine. But we see the infant in the man, if we do not see the man in the infant.

The truth seems to be, that in this fourth Gospel the person of Christ is placed very high, — very high indeed. If we compare the book with others commonly supposed to have been written at the same time, or even later, we are surprised to find how advanced a stage of doctrine it represents. The writings of the so-called Apostolical Fathers are far behind it. The letter ascribed to Barnabas assigns by no means so high a rank to Christ. The pseudo-Clementine homilies contain no hint of the Logos. The Ignatian Epistles are an exception. Christ in them is called λόγος ἴδιος, and frequently θεός, but the conception is unsteady, besides being not a little obscure. And some things are related of Christ, — for example, his descent from David and his birth from the Virgin, — which indicate an unfinished stage of thought, and which the Johannic view is consistent enough to omit wholly. It is even uncertain, a matter of much question with the most learned, whether Justin Martyr on the whole gives to Christ in his speculations a more exalted rank than is assigned him in this Gospel.* We would speak with caution here, however, it is so extremely difficult to weigh the language of those ancient authors, supposing them to have attached any exact meaning to it themselves. Oftentimes, when they seem to assert a great deal, they really assert nothing uncommon, and in appearing to affirm nothing uncommon, they do affirm extraordinary things.

It remains now to say a single word respecting the first Epistle of John, and then this long article will be brought to a close. This Epistle bears the same general characteristics with the Gospel, but in several particulars it differs from it. One or two of these our subject obliges us to notice. It is remarkable that Christ is called ἱλασμός, or a sin-offering. "He is the propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." "The blood of Jesus Christ cleanses

* On this whole matter, which we cannot pursue farther, we would refer to Baur's "Dreieinigkeit," Vol. I. pp. 92 - 102, 132 - 137, and 163 - 181. See also a dissertation by Hellwag, Theologische Jahrbücher, 1848, 2d heft, pp. 252 - 263.

us from all sin." "He was manifested to take away our sins; and in him is no sin." The writer does not define the way in which Christ is the propitiation for our sins. But the ground of it is very plainly expressed. In iii. 8, 9, it is written: "He that committeth sin is of the Devil. For this cause the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the Devil. Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him and he cannot sin, because he is born of God." All Christians are born of God. "Beloved, now are we the sons of God." See also ii. 13, etc. And yet the same writer says: "If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves and the truth is not in us." How is this? How can people as Christians be absolutely free from sin, and at the same time sinners? If, as sons of God, they cannot sin, and if without ceasing to be sons of God they do sin, then are their sins remissible and remitted. Christ "is the propitiation not only for our sins, but for the sins of the whole world." "If any man sin, we have an advocate (παράκλητον) with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous." Christ therefore, not only has made propitiation for the past, but he makes intercession for the future. Through this intercession, our sins are remitted. But only on one condition can we share the benefit of the Saviour's intercession; namely, by loving our brother. "Whatsoever we ask, we receive, because we keep his commandments, and do those things that are pleasing in his sight." "And this is his commandment, that we should believe on the name of his Son, Jesus Christ, and love one another." Here, at last, we have the chain of thought. Jesus Christ is the Advocate. But without brotherly love, there is no intercession; without intercession, there is no remission; without remission, there is no Sonship or communion with God; without Sonship, there is no eternal life. Thus we see how literally we must understand the word ἱλαστήριον. It implies a vicarious atonement, such as we do not find even dimly shadowed forth in the Gospel. It will be remarked, also, that the word παράκλητος is used in a sense altogether foreign to the Evangelist. The Paraclete is here an advocate, an intercessor, a mediator after the fashion of a Jewish high-priest. The cast of thought reminds us very

much of the Epistle to the Hebrews, very little of the fourth Gospel. We do not recognize the Comforter who takes Christ's place in the world, to abide with men for ever, in this Paraclete, who is Christ himself kneeling before the throne of God, and urging the petitions of his brethren, which reach him by virtue of a spiritual connection between him and them.

Several other points in this Epistle deserve attention; — the Antichrist; the sin unto death; the second advent. There is much more to be said, likewise, about the brotherly love which is the grand burden of the book. But these matters do not come within the range of our present inquiry, and we leave them.

Thus, imperfectly, and as in outline, we have sketched the results which the Tübingen school of criticism has arrived at respecting the Christ of the New Testament. We have traced the line of thought from the Gospel of the Hebrews to the Gospel of the Asiatics; from Matthew to John. Jesus, the carpenter's son, of Nazareth, has become the Divine Logos. A most surprising change. But it was brought about naturally, by the regular progress of speculation, and not by any sudden revulsion of mind. Many elements conspired to produce it. The Jewish thought in its grandest, purest form, clear, practical, and profoundly religious, found a mighty voice in Paul. It was preached in Athens and Ephesus; it was proclaimed in Rome; it was confronted with the polished philosophy of the West; and the image of Jesus was stamped upon the Gentile world. The Grecian thought, mingled with something of Oriental mysticism and of Hebrew piety at Alexandria, found utterance in Syria and Asia Minor. And in the blended notes, the name of Jesus was borne to the skies. The Christology of the Church resulted from a singular confluence of ideas. We shall not be surprised that speculation took the course it did, nor that it concerned itself so much with the person of Jesus, if we reflect that the controlling minds of the age were very few in number, and were half Jewish in their cast of thought. Paul, the least Jewish of all, had Hebrew nurture. Our surprise will be yet more diminished, when we consider the length of time which this process of development covered. Men did not pass from one extreme of opinion to another in a

day. It was long ere the name of Jesus was heard out of Judea. It was long before Paul made the sound of it familiar to Greeks and Romans. It was long, again, until the Christian thinkers became familiar with the philosophy that prevailed around them. The writings of the New Testament, instead of covering a space of about thirty years, as is commonly supposed, must, judging from contemporaneous thought, embrace the speculation of something like a century. We can shorten this period only by reading their doctrines differently, as many do, and will do for years to come. A hundred and fifty years after the death of Christ were necessary to transform him into the Logos. A hundred and fifty more sufficed to identify him with the Supreme God.

One idea has been present with us through our inquiry. It is this: the mission of Christ has preceded his person. His nature has followed his function. The exigencies of Christianity in various times and circumstances defined the position and the character of its founder, who was simply made adequate to the work he was to do. This is a suggestive thought. It reminds us that Christians have always found as much in Christ as their conscious need demanded. When the idea of sin prevailed in Christendom, when men's hopes were shrouded in gloom, and an awful chasm lay between a doomed race and its God, Christ was God, come to deliver mankind from the bondage of evil, and to wash the guilty conscience in his own blood. When human beings in their misery wished to feel that heaven had compassion on them, when they wanted hope and sympathy from one better than they, Christ was a man poor and suffering, full of grief, but full also of patience, and trust, and loving-kindness. To the philanthropist laboring to reform the evils of his age, and to right its wrongs, Christ is the heroic champion of truth and justice, who spake the clear word of God, and died in the great cause of humanity. The socialist, feeling the sore need of a newly organized society, loves to contemplate Christ as the sublime teacher of man's brotherhood with man, whose beautiful life proved and illustrated his doctrine of equality and beneficence. And so it has always been. So it is with each individual in his own heart. The moods of the soul cast their light and shade upon the figure of

Jesus. At times he appears to us divine. In moments of self-abasement, when our strength is weakness, our knowledge ignorance, our virtue corruption, and our faith despair, — in moments of wretched self-reproach, — we look up to him with a kind of awe: his purity is celestial; his goodness is angelic. We kneel before him, seeking hopefulness and assurance from his calm and peaceful holiness. In seasons of moral conflict with foes within and foes without, Christ is our example: his precepts bear up our courage; his life inspires our soul with unfailing confidence, and fills it with abounding joy. He is a comforter when we need consolation; a saintly devotee, when we are in the mood of prayer; an ascetic moralist, when the spirit wrestles fearfully with the flesh. He is the shadow of our heart. He is the form of our most earnest aspiration and our deepest prayer. He is the actual of our ideal. More than this he cannot be, were he all that Athanasius said he was. Less than this he cannot be, until our ideal is enlarged beyond to-day's imagination, in the glory of another life. O. B. F.

Art. II. — WORKS OF MASSIMO D' AZEGLIO.*

It is seldom that the noble aims and benign sentiments of the genuine artist find development in life. His efficiency, however refined and graceful in itself, rarely can be traced to a practical issue; his dominion is usually confined to the vague realms of thought, and his name familiar only to those who explore the world of fancy and ideas. A rare and beautiful exception to this abstract career of the artist in literature is now visible in the case of Massimo d' Azeglio, the present secretary of state of Sardinia. It has become his fortunate destiny to realize, however imperfectly, in action, the dreams of his youth; to administer, to a certain extent at least, the

* 1. *Niccolò de' Lapi ovvero I Palleschi e I Piagnoni di* Massimo d' Azeglio. 2 vols. Parigi: Baudry. 1844.
2. *Ettore Fieramosca di* Massimo d' Azeglio. 1 vol. Parigi: Baudry.
3. *Ultimi Casi di Romagna di* Massimo d' Azeglio. Italia. 1846.

principles which previously found only written expression; and to be the agent of some of the political and social ameliorations which, at a less auspicious era, he could but suggest, illustrate, and prophesy. We can hardly imagine a more elevated satisfaction to a generous mind, than the privilege of thus making tangible what was once ideal, carrying into affairs the results of deliberate study, and giving social embodiment to long-cherished and patiently evolved truths. To feel the interest and realize the significance of such a career, we must compare the first work of the gifted novelist with the last discourse of the minister of foreign affairs; and trace his identity of opinion and sentiment, from the glowing patriotism of "Niccolò de' Lapi" and "Ettore Fieramosca" to the reforms which have rendered Sardinia the most free and progressive of the Italian states. It is through his genuine patriotism, indeed, that D' Azeglio is both a popular writer and a liberal statesman; his fictions are derived from the same inspiration as his public acts; he is a man of the people, and an efficient and honored citizen of Italy, by virtue of a love of country not less remarkable for intelligence than for sincerity. This is his great distinction. Neither to the circumstances of his birth, education, nor experience is he indebted for the independence, wisdom, and zeal of his national feeling, but altogether to the promptings of a noble heart and vigorous understanding. This eminent trait — his intelligent patriotism — both of his character and his genius is exhibited with beautiful consistency, first in an artistic, then in an argumentative, and finally in an administrative, manner. It pervades his life as well as his books, now finding utterance in the fervid words of an ancient Tuscan patriot, now in a direct and calm appeal to the reason of his contemporaries, and again in the salutary projects and unfaltering purpose of the ministerial reformer.

In the history of Sardinia, there are obvious facts and tendencies indicative of a liberal destiny; — vistas, as it were, of light athwart the gloom of despotic rule, and low and interrupted, yet audible, breathings of that spirit of liberty and national progress now evidently becoming more permanent and vital. The nucleus of the monarchy was Savoy, around which were grouped the frag-

ments of several states, — the old kingdom of Burgundy and remains of the Carlovingian and Frankish empire; but towards the end of the thirteenth century its individuality was fixed by the will of Count Asmodeus the Sixth; and by the peace of Utrecht it became a state of Europe. Although the power of the crown was unlimited, the government was administered by three ministers, and the succession confined to the male line; the assent of the estates was requisite for the imposition of new taxes, and, while the nobility formed a large class, it was one not exempt from taxation. The traveller who visits the church of La Superga at Turin, and muses over her buried kings, will recall traits of royal character not unworthy of the superb mausoleum. In the forty-three years of his reign, Charles Emmanuel the Third, both as a civic and military ruler, preserved a high character. In his disputes with the Pope, he successfully maintained the right of the state to make all ecclesiastical appointments; and the concordat was confirmed by Benedict the Fourteenth in 1742. The new code of 1770 was in advance of the times, and the country flourished under its provisions. But these incidental advantages were not sufficient to modify the natural influence of despotism upon the character of the people; and the acknowledged superiority of the Sardinians in vigor and breadth of nature is perhaps not less owing to local and social circumstances. Among these we are disposed to reckon the variety of elements that constitute the state; it combines interior plains with mountains and sea-coast, — the fertile levels of Asti and Alessandria, and the distant island of Sardinia; while Piedmont, as its name suggests, lies at the foot of the Pennine Alps, in which are the Great Saint Bernard on her north, and of the Gracian and Cottian Alps, including Mont Blanc and Mont Cenis, towards France and Savoy; and in the direction of the south are the Maritime Alps, separating it from Genoa and Nice.

Another propitious influence that distinguishes Piedmont is the existence of a large body of Protestants, whose contests with the Catholic power early broke up the monotony of prescriptive opinion, and tended to enlighten and invigorate the adjacent people. Milton's noble sonnet to the Waldenses of Piedmont is a familiar

memorial of their heroism and sufferings; protected by their mountain barriers, they defeated the army of the Pope, who lost not less than seven hundred men in the struggle. The actual effect, however, of so complete a despotism as that which originally invested the territory, has been described in a vivid and graphic manner by another poet. Alfieri, in his ingenuous autobiography, gives us a melancholy picture of an education under royal authority. His fame is one of the redeeming associations that beguile the traveller at Turin. In 1798, Charles Emmanuel the Fourth ceded his whole territory to the French, with the exception of the island of Sardinia; and four years subsequently, abdicated in favor of his brother, who, upon his return after the peace of Paris in 1815, restored the old constitution as far as practicable, readmitted the Jesuits, subscribed to the Holy Alliance, and established a rigorous censorship. The next year, harassed by the occupation of his kingdom by the Austrians, he also resigned in favor of his brother, Charles Felix. The Congress of Vienna, in 1822, provided for the evacuation of foreign troops; but before three years had elapsed, the usual enactments of arbitrary power crushed whatever germs of a liberal policy remained; by a royal edict, such of her inhabitants as were not possessed of at least four hundred dollars were forbidden to acquire the first elements of learning; and only those having a certain investment in the funds were allowed to enter the university. Translations of Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, and other authors, were prohibited. From time to time, formidable conspiracies against a government so tyrannical were discovered; the most important, that of 1821, was not without temporary success, since the regent, Charles Albert, was compelled to swear to the Spanish constitution. The spirit of the age and the lessons of experience were not altogether lost upon this prince, whose real character seems but recently to have been appreciated. We can desire no better evidence of his sincere love of country and benign projects, than the fact that, many years since, when comparative tranquillity prevailed in Europe, he was accustomed to hold long and confidential interviews with our representative at his court, for the purpose of eliciting information as to the means and method of gradually

ameliorating the institutions, not only of Sardinia, but of Italy. He long cherished the hope of giving her national unity, of combining from all her states an efficient army, and thus expelling the Austrians from the soil. This he believed to be the first step towards a constitutional government; popular education and military training he more or less encouraged in his own dominions, with this great ultimate object in view; and he certainly possessed the most efficient native troops, and the best-founded popularity, among the Italian princes. Since his death, impartial observers concur in deeming him far more unfortunate than treacherous; a reaction has justly taken place in the public estimation of his motives and career; and no candid inquirer can fail to recognize in him a brave ruler, who gave a decided impulse to liberal ideas, advanced the Italian cause, and became one of its involuntary martyrs.

"Yea, verily, Charles Albert has died well:
And if he lived not all so, as one spoke,
The sin passed softly with the passing-bell.
For he was shriven, I think, in cannon-smoke,
And, taking off his crown, made visible
A hero's forehead. Shaking Austria's yoke,
He shattered his own hand and heart. 'So best,'
His last words were, upon his lonely bed,—
'I do not end like popes and dukes at least,—
Thank God for it.' And now that he is dead,
Admitting it is proved and manifest
That he was worthy, with a discrowned head,
To measure heights with patriots, let them stand
Beside the man in his Oporto shroud,
And each vouchsafe to take him by the hand,
And kiss him on the cheek, and say aloud,
'Thou, too, hast suffered for our native land!
My brother, thou art one of us. Be proud.'" *

Into this amphibious country,—as Piedmont is quaintly called by the Italian tragic poet,—into this kingdom composed of the fragments of shattered dynasties, the scene of religious persecution, the heritage of a long line of brave and despotic kings, who adorned it with magnificent temples of religion by taxes wrung from an

* Mrs. Browning's "Casa Guidi Windows."

ignorant people and extorted from a pampered nobility, — into this romantic land, crowned with Alpine summits and indented with emerald vales, — a region memorable for many a hard-fought field, and as the home of Rousseau, Alfieri, and Pellico,— Massimo d' Azeglio was born, on the 2d of October, 1798. His family was both ancient and noble; and Turin, his native city, a capital so near the confines of France as to be more exposed to the influx of Continental ideas than any other metropolis of the land. A more vigorous and intelligent race tread its streets, and a bolder peasantry dwell amid the mountains around, than belong to the sickly Campagna or the Lazzaroni shores: the soldier has a manlier bearing, and the priest a franker aspect; while in society, not only the language, but the enlightenment, of the French prevails. At the *cafés* you find more foreign journals, in the *salons* a less antediluvian tone; the mellow atmosphere of the past that broods over the more southern districts is here scarcely perceptible, and a certain modern air and freshness of life immediately strike the traveller from that direction, as he enters the Sardinian capital. Here Azeglio's early education was strictly private; he then passed through the usual college tuition, entered the militia, and soon became an army officer. His natural tastes, however, were for art and politics. Accordingly, when sent minister to Rome, at a subsequent period, we find him assiduously cultivating the fine arts; and in a short time he became a skilful landscape painter. Here his latent and instinctive taste and capabilities genially unfolded; the impressive ruins, the treasures of the Vatican, and the companionship of artists, continually informed and inspired his mind, which rapidly and gracefully developed in an atmosphere so accordant with its original bias. We frequently have occasion to remark the affinity between the arts of design and certain departments of literature; and seldom can this relation be traced with more charming effect than in the writings of D' Azeglio. The clearness of design, the felicitous adaptation of the atmosphere to the outline, the grouping, scenic descriptions, and fidelity to those laws of historical perspective, which are so analogous to the same principles in painting, — all unfold themselves to the critical reader of his masterly narratives. We feel, as we read, that the best

preparation for that species of literary art is the discipline of the accomplished draughtsman; for an historical romance, in its true significance, is like an elaborate picture, subject to the same conditions of light and shade, truth to fact and nature, and harmonious conception. Azeglio delineates in language with a patient attention to details, a wise regulation of color, and a constant eye to unity of effect, which we at once refer to his studies in the Roman Academy and galleries, and his familiarity with the pencil and palette. It was not, however, until the maturity of his powers that his genius found scope in language; before he had acquired fame as a novelist, the intrinsic qualities of the man won him an exalted place in the estimation of a circle of friends, including the most illustrious names of Lombardy. On his removal to Milan, in 1830, his urbanity of spirit, fluent expression, manliness, and evident intellectual ability, had thus gained him numerous admirers; and Grossi and Manzoni were among his most intimate and attached companions. It is an interesting coincidence, that the destined successor of the first of Italian novelists became his son-in-law. D' Azeglio espoused the daughter of Manzoni; and somewhat of the domestic pathos which gives a melancholy charm to his principal work is doubtless the reflection of his own sad experience, for but a single year of conjugal happiness followed his marriage, his bride having died soon after giving birth to a daughter, who has since found a true mother in Luigia Blondell, the present wife of D' Azeglio. The social character of Milan is rather literary than artistic; and it seems a natural inference, that, when the embryo statesman and clever landscape painter exchanged the Eternal City for the Lombard capital, and found himself in the centre of a distinguished group of patriotic men of letters, the chief of whom was bound to him by ties of family as well as sympathy of taste, he should catch the spirit of authorship, and seek to embody in that form the knowledge acquired in another field, and the aspirations that craved more emphatic utterance than could be expressed by the silent canvas. In 1833, therefore, appeared "Ettore Fieramosca, or the Challenge of Barletta," the best Italian historical romance since the "Promessi Sposi." Its easy and copious style, its truth of descrip-

tion and distinct characterization, the simplicity of its plot, and, above all, the thoroughly Italian nature of the argument, instantly established its popularity. The incident upon which the story is founded is as familiar to the historical reader as it is memorable in the annals of Italy; — that of a drawn battle between thirteen Italian and the same number of French knights, occasioned by the challenge of the former, for an imputation cast upon their national bravery by one of the latter. Sanctioned as was the encounter by the leaders of both armies, witnessed by a large concourse, including citizens and soldiers of France, Spain, and Italy, — the ferocious zeal of the combatants, the duration of the struggle, the patriotic as well as individual sense of honor involved, and, finally, the signal triumph of the Italian arms, render the scene one of intense interest. Azeglio availed himself, with singular tact and wisdom, of this episode in the early wars of his country, to revive that sentiment of national unity which so many years of dispersion and tyranny had obscured, but not extinguished, in the Italian heart. From the records of the past he thus evoked the spirit so requisite to consecrate the present. Ettore Fieramosca is the ideal of an Italian knight; his unfortunate, but nobly cherished love, his prowess, beauty, and fiery enthusiasm for his country, his chivalric accomplishments and entire self-devotion, beautiful and attractive as they are, become more impressive from the strict historical fidelity with which they are associated. The games, laws, costume, turns of thought and speech, and military and popular habits of the era, are scrupulously given. Among the characters introduced are Cesar Borgia and Vittoria Colonna, names that eloquently typify the two extremes of Italian character, — the integrity of which, in its villany and its virtue, is admirably preserved; the ecclesiastic, the inn-keeper, the man-at-arms, the gossiping citizen, and the prince, of that day, are portrayed to the life. Many of the local scenes described have the clearness of outline and the vividness of tint which make them permanent reminiscences to the contemplative reader, and have associated them in the minds of his countrymen with the hero of D' Azeglio's romance and the sentiment of national honor.

In 1841 appeared "Niccolò de' Lapi," the work which

established D' Azeglio's fame as a literary artist and a man of decided genius. The same patriotic instinct guided his pen as in his previous enterprise; but the design was more elaborate and finished, and the conception wrought out through more extensive research and a higher degree of feeling. The time chosen is that terrible epoch when Florence defended herself alone against the arms of Clement the Seventh and Charles the Fifth. In his account of the siege of 1529–30, he follows Varchi in regard to the prominent external facts; but into the partial and imperfect record of the historian he breathed the life of nature and tradition. For this purpose, the documents of the age were assiduously collated; the monuments, walls, and towers of Florence interrogated; the bastions of Saint Miniato, the palaces of the Medici and Puzzi, the Bargello, the piazza, ancient private dwellings, — the courts and staircases, the portraits and legends, — every tradition and memorial of the period, examined, to acquire the requisite scenic and local material which are wrought up with such authentic minuteness as to form a complete picture, and one which the observation of every visitor to the Tuscan capital at once and entirely recognizes. Nor has he bestowed less care upon the spirit and action of his romance. The people, as they once existed, in all their original efficiency and individual character, are reproduced, as they then lived, thought, suffered, and battled, after three hundred years of internal agitation and wars, proving themselves adequate to cope at once with both Emperor and Pope, and falling at last rather through treachery than conquest. The very atmosphere of those times seems to float around us as we read. The republic lives in its original vigor. We realize the events of history reanimated by the fire of poetic invention. Niccolò is the ideal of an Italian patriot, as Fieramosca is of a knight. There is a Lear-like solemnity in his vehement passion and religious self-control, a Marino Faliero dignity in his political ruin. The consistent earnestness of his character, the wisdom and majesty, the fierce indignation and holy resignation, the high counsels and serene martyrdom, of the venerable patriot, are at once exalted and touching. Depressed by existent degeneracy, Azeglio seems to have evoked this noble exemplar from the past to revive the dormant

hopes and elevate the national sentiment of his countrymen. Around this grand central figure he has grouped, with rare skill and marvellous effect, a number of historical personages and domestic characters, whose words, acts, and appearance give a distinct reality and dramatic effect to the whole conception. It is enough to mention Savonarola, Fenuccio, and Malatesta, — the reformer, the soldier, and the civic ruler, — all reproduced with accuracy, and their agency upon the spirit of the age and the course of events suggested with consummate tact. From the intensely exciting scenes enacted in the camp, around the walls of the besieged city, on the bastions, in the cabinet at Volterra, we are suddenly transported to the home of Lapi, and witness the domestic life of the age. The family portraits are exquisitely discriminated; Lisa and Laodonira are two of those finely contrasted and beautifully conceived female characters which, like Scott's Minna and Brenda, leave a Shakspearian identity of impression on the reader's mind. Lamberto is a fine type of the youth of Tuscany; Troilo, of Italian duplicity; and Bindo, of a younger son, beloved and brave; while the struggle between monastic and martial impulses, so characteristic of the epoch, is vividly depicted in Fanfulla. Scloaggia is, also, a representative, both in her wild career and her genuine penitence, of a species native to the soil. As Ruskin studied the architecture of Venice to fix dates and analyze combinations, D' Azeglio appears to have scrutinized the art, literature, and monuments of Florence, to gather the varied and legitimate elements which compose this work. He catches the voice of faction, and prolongs its echo; he paints the edifice until it stands visibly before the imagination or the memory; he reveals the mood of the patriot and the lover, so that we share its deep emotion; and leads us, as it were, through the streets of the besieged city, to the bedside of the tender maiden and the vigil of the anxious citizen, till the objects and spirit of the age and people become, through sympathy and observation, like conscious realities. Among the incidental merits of this work may also be reckoned its philosophic insight, exhibited not only in a fine study of the laws of character, but in the influence of political opinion upon domestic life, the conflict between patriotic and

personal sentiment, the local agency of institutions and the mutual relation of military and religious enthusiasm. Nor can we fail to perceive, throughout, the singular advantages enjoyed by the historical novelist in Italy, finding in her works of art, her temples, palaces, and libraries the most significant and, at the same time, authentic hints and glimpses of the life of the past. Many exquisite touches of picturesque or suggestive limning, such as mark the patient explorer and the observant artist, occur in "Niccolò de' Lapi." But if to these characteristics the work owes much of its immediate popularity, and not a little of its intrinsic interest, the standard literary value attached to it is, in no small degree, derived from the style. The language of D' Azeglio is terse, flowing, and appropriate. He writes in a calm, though fervent spirit; his tone is chastened and intense; and he uses words with a keen sense of their meaning and delicate adaptation. He has drawn a picture of the age, not only alive with moral sentiment and warmed by patriotic emotion, but so managed as to excite profound respect, as well as earnest sympathy, — to blend in harmonious contrast the office of historian and poet.

Indeed, D' Azeglio's great distinction is a certain moderation, judgment, and rational view of the prospects and needs of his country, rarely found in unison with so much zeal and genius. He early manifested this trait in habits of study and investigation, and has since, and always, been true to himself in this regard, as a man of action. It is on account of his excellent sense, logical power, and reverence for truth, that he has so eminently succeeded both as an artist and a statesman. No better proof of his superiority to the man of revolutionists can be desired, than the sentiments and arguments of his well-known political essay induced by the occurrences in Romagna in the autmn of 1845. He there states, without the least fanaticism or exaggeration, the real state of the case, and points out clearly and justly the reforms necessary in the Pontifical States. He rebukes all premature and ill-considered measures on the part of the oppressed people, as only calculated to postpone their enfranchisement and prejudice their cause; he wisely advocates gradual enlightenment, and eloquently describes the fatal consequences of rash and ignorant movements. He gives a

plain and authentic statement of facts to show the utter impolicy, as well as inhumanity, of secret prosecutions, resort to foreign arms, to base espionage, to a contraband system, censorship, and an inconsistent and unreliable code, and all the other flagrant evils of Papal sway; and while thus effectively reproaching the government, he is equally indignant and impartial in his condemnation of reckless agitators and precipitate heroes, who not only vainly sacrifice themselves, but bring into fatal disrepute the more judicious patriots. Azeglio comprehends the inevitable agency of public sentiment as a means of national redemption; he understands the Italian character, and points out the difference between animal and civic courage; he thinks fools as dangerous as knaves to the cause of freedom, shows the need of political education, pleads for a due regard to time, opportunity, and means in order to secure permanent advantage, and declares that the great lesson his countrymen have to learn is to avoid the two extremes of reckless despair and inert resignation, to improve, to hope, to prepare the way, and thus gain moral vigor, the world's respect, and God's favor; and, while he demonstrates the injustice of the Papal government, he would not have its victims imitate the madman, who in flying from an insect ran over a precipice, or the virgins in the parable, who took no oil with their lamps. He gives instances on the one hand of the decadence of the towns of Romagna in consequence of misrule, and, on the other, of the concessions of despotic governments to the consistent and enlightened appeal of their subjects. In his strict justice, he even praises Austria for her administration of law, compared with the Roman tyranny, that makes the judge and accuser one; and selects from his own state an example of treachery with which to contrast the self-devotion of those who fought at Barletta. This able pamphlet, entitled "Ultimi Casi di Romagna," is one of the most candid and thoughtful expositions of actual political evils, and the only available means of overcoming them, which a native writer has produced. No one can read it without sympathy for the oppressed, indignation against the government, and respect for the reasoning of Azeglio. It is not less intelligible than philosophic; and subsequent events have amply proved the

soundness of its arguments and the correctness of its inferences.

If, in view of the many abortive revolutions, the want of unity, the influence of Jesuitism, the interference of France and Austria, and all the other antagonistic conditions that environ the intelligent votaries of Italian independence and nationality, we seek a clew by which to thread the dark labyrinth of her misfortunes, and find a way into the light of freedom and progress, what rational plan or ground of hope suggests itself? Only, as it seems to us, the practical adoption in some section of the land of those political and social reforms which, once realized, will inevitably spread; the successful experiment in a limited sphere, which, by the force of example and moral laws, will gradually extend. Let the capacity for self-government, the advantages of liberal institutions, be demonstrated in one state, and they cannot fail to penetrate the whole nation. A few years since, Rome seemed the destined nucleus for such a change, and subsequently Tuscany; but the bigotry of ecclesiastical power in the one, and the grasp of Austrian power in the other, soon led to a fatal reaction. The course of events and the facts of to-day now indisputably designate Sardinia as the region whence the light is to emanate. Favored, as we have seen, by the character of her people, her local position, and the traits of her past history, the very disaster that checked her army has tended to concentrate and develop the spirit of the age and the elements of constitutional liberty within her borders. The loss of the battle of Novara and the abdication of Charles Albert, though apparently great misfortunes, have resulted in signal benefits. After securing peace from their adversaries chiefly by a pecuniary sacrifice, the king and citizens of Piedmont turned their energies towards internal reform with a wisdom and good faith which are rapidly yielding legitimate fruit. Public schools were instituted, the press made free, the Waldenses allowed to quit their valleys, build churches, and elect representatives, the privileges of the clergy abolished, and the two bishops who ventured to oppose the authority of her state tried, condemned, and banished, the Pope's interference repudiated, the right of suffrage instituted, railroads from Turin to Genoa and from Alessandria to Lago Maggiore

constructed, the electric telegraph introduced, liberal commercial treaties formed, docks built, and cheap postal laws enacted. In a word, the great evils that have so long weighed down the people of the Italian peninsula — unlimited monarchical power, aristocratic and clerical immunities derived from the Middle Ages, the censorship of the press, the espionage of the police, and intolerance of all but the Catholic religion — no longer exist in Sardinia. Regarding the constitution of Charles Albert as a sacred legacy, his son and people resolved to uphold and carry out its principles; and they have done so, with scarcely any violence or civil discord. Accordingly, an example is now before the Italians, and within their observation and sympathy, of a free, progressive, and enlightened government; and this one fact is pregnant with hope for the entire nation. Only fanatics and shallow adventurers behold the signs of promise without grateful emotion. The wise and true friends of Italy, at home and abroad, welcome the daily proofs of a new era for that unhappy land afforded by the prosperity and freedom now enjoyed in Piedmont.* It would be manifestly unjust to ascribe all these propitious changes to the personal influence of D'Azeglio; but he deserves the credit of projecting and successfully advocating many of the most effective ameliorations, and of being the consistent and recognized expositor of the liberal policy of the state. The accession of Pius the Ninth was greeted by him with all the delight the hopeful dawn of his career naturally inspired among the Italian patriots. He published a letter full of applause and encouragement, and had a long and satisfactory interview with the new Pope; and when the bitter disappointment ensued, he carried out, in his official capacity, the sentiments he professed, and to which Pius was shamelessly recreant. Like Henry Martyn in England, he proposed the emancipation of the Jews in Piedmont, and his philanthropy is manifested in the establishment of public baths and fires for the poor. He took a bold and decided stand against the Pope, and originated the treaty with England. In his address to the Sardinian parliament, on the 12th of February of the

* We are gratified to perceive that one of the few Italian journals published in the United States, the *Eco d' Italia* of New York, fully records and ably sustains the noble example of the Sardinian government.

present year, he expresses the noblest sentiments and principles, in language of simple and earnest vigor; — repudiating what are called reasons of state, maintaining that the same morality is applicable to governments and individuals, that integrity has taken the place of astuteness, that good sense and good faith are all that the true statesman requires to guide him, and that the press and facility of intercourse which enable Turin, Moscow, and Edinburgh to feel simultaneously the force of public opinion, have emancipated rulers from the narrow resource of subtlety, and induced among all enlightened governments reliance on the absolute power of truth and fidelity. He attributes, in this masterly discourse, the peaceful achievement of so much permanent good in the state, to the virtue of the people, the prudence of the legislature, and the loyalty of the king.

How long Sardinia will be permitted to carry on within her own limits the progressive system that now so happily distinguishes her from the other Continental governments, is extremely doubtful. The asylum she gives to political refugees, the unpleasant truths her free press announces, and the operation of her free-trade principles, occasion the greatest annoyance to Austria, and excite the sympathetic desires of less favored states. It is scarcely to be hoped that interference of a more active kind than has yet taken place will be attempted. Meantime, however, it is but just to recognize the noble example she has set of enlightened self-government, and to award the highest praise to the generous and judicious statesman at the head of her policy. It will prove a remarkable coincidence if the enterprise recently broached in New York, of a line of steamers between that city and Genoa, is realized; thus uniting by frequent intercourse the commercial emporium of the New World with the birthplace of her discoverer, and opening a direct and permanent communication between the greatest republic of the earth and the one state of Italy which has proved herself sufficiently intelligent, moral, and heroic, to reform peacefully an oppressive heritage of political and social evils.

The efficacy of D'Azeglio's patriotic zeal is, as we have endeavored to show, derived from his knowledge and judgment. Years of exile have not caused him to

lose sight of the actual exigencies of the country. Having lived alternately at Turin, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Lucca, and Rome, and visited all parts of the peninsula, he is quite familiar with the condition of the people of the respective states, the special local evils of each administration, and the available resources of the nation. Thoroughly versed in the art, literature, and history of Italy, enjoying the intimacy and confidence of her leading spirits, and practically acquainted with diplomatic life, his views are not random speculations, but well-considered opinions, his aims distinct and progressive, and the spirit in which he works that of a philosopher. The beautiful emanations of his study and genius have awakened, far and wide, the pride and affection of his countrymen. In 1845 he commenced, in the "Antologia Italiana," a new romance, founded on the Lombard league, which the cessation of that journal and the claims of official life have obliged him to suspend. In 1848 he fought in Lombardy; and early in the succeeding year an unostentatious but select and cordial banquet was given him in Rome by his admirers and friends, to congratulate one another on the new hopes of Italian regeneration which events then justified. Through all the chances and changes of the times, the noble author and statesman has serenely maintained his faith and wisely dedicated his mind to his country, emphatically giving utterance to truth and reason, both to fanatical patriots and despotic rulers; — to the one demonstrating the inutility of spasmodic efforts, of guerillas, of inadequate resistance and inopportune action; and to the other calmly proving the absolute folly, as well as wickedness, of a total disregard of the spirit of the age and the claims of humanity. The present condition and prospects of his native state now justify his arguments and realize his dearest hopes; and it is her peculiar glory to have at the head of her administration, not only a liberal and wise statesman, but one of the most gifted and patriotic of her own sons. H. T. T.

Art. III. — EGYPT AS IT IS.*

The first two works whose titles we give below are as unlike as possible. One is like a dream, the other is like a Congressional report. One is without a fact, a date, a measurement, or any attempt at positive statement; the other is as exact as a multiplication-table, and as full of dates as an almanac. The one characterizes a class intended to be poetical without the forms of poetry, and is very successful in its way; the other belongs to an admirable series issued at intervals in Paris, presenting a thick volume of ably-written matter, and nearly a hundred engravings, for about the same price at which the "Nile Notes" would furnish its single day's recreation, giving entirely authentic intelligence, descriptions which often rise to eloquence, and condensed results of study and examination not elsewhere to be found. While one style of work is certain to become popular among us, it were well that the other should come after it and complete the impression it would make, extend the knowledge which the more fanciful writer has made interesting, and save us from utter superficiality and mistiness in our views of people and things.

The third title below is that of an elegant reprint, by the Harpers, of an English work which has been received with well-deserved favor. It is much the most attractive book upon Egypt which we have seen. It is most lavishly illustrated by plates, plans, and maps, and contains that fair mixture of historical details with descriptions of things as they are, which constitutes both the value and the charm of such a book. Samuel Sharpe, Esq., of London, has furnished for it an historical introduction, which in less than ten pages presents the reader with such a sketch from the well-established annals of comparatively modern times, as avoids the bewildering mazes of Egyptian annals. Mr. Bartlett is an admirable

* 1. *Égypte Ancienne.* Par M. Champollion-Figeac, Conservateur de la Bibliothèque Royale, etc. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, Editeurs. 1847.
2. *Nile Notes of a Howadji.* New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 320.
3. *The Nile Boat: or Glimpses of the Land of Egypt.* By W. H. Bartlett, Author of "Forty Days in the Desert." New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. Royal 8vo. pp. 218.

painter in words, and we commend his volume highly to all who wish to have the most readable book on a land upon which an immense amount of trash has been forced upon the public.

Egypt, the land of the Pyramids and the Sphinxes, the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies, of the oldest civilizations and the largest history, of the richest architecture and the most prolific soil, of most strange customs and most wretched government, has been coming nearer to us of the West, year by year, and by constantly increasing steam-communication over the Atlantic, through Europe, and across the Mediterranean, is yet to lay its treasures still more open to our view. Meanwhile, the labors of Mr. Gliddon in this country, of Wilkinson in England, of Champollion in France, of Lepsius in Prussia, and some smaller works like "The Nile Boat" and the "Nile Notes," have quickened public curiosity, and created an intelligent interest in a land most deserving of study and most certain to repay further investigation. At the present moment, as many American travellers as French or German are floating upon the Nile; and, as it comes to be understood by our people how entirely unequalled are the monumental treasures of Egypt, how perfectly easy of access it is, how richly adorned by peculiar customs, dresses, trades, seasons, and scenes, ample of themselves to repay the costly voyage and wearisome land travel, multitudes will be found preferring this older, and yet in some sense newer land, to the hackneyed sights of Europe. The American traveller, as this distant spot comes close to hand and opens more and more of its varied wealth, will be found exchanging the familiar Rhine and Rhone for the Mississippi-like Nile, with its tombs of an unknown antiquity, its temples of unrivalled grandeur, its graceful obelisks and majestic statues, its sights that are always singular, and its manners that have no resemblance in any part of the world. It is in sympathy with and in help of this growing intercourse, that we propose to speak briefly of Egypt as it is, — to group together some of its most remarkable objects of interest under distinct heads, to exhibit the present position of the people, and to hint at the simple means which might convert the wretched present into a future more splendid than any past.

The most wonderful monuments of Egypt are without exception the Tombs, especially the royal ones in the "Libyan suburb" of Thebes, the tall resting-places of some of her most ancient sovereigns, invested with the awe of antiquity even at the early period when Herodotus described the process of preparing the bodies for interment in them.

The pyramids are by no means the most interesting of the tombs. It is strange that these have been taken to be so many things besides tombs; that, simply because they were built to face the four points of the compass, contained some long subterranean passages, and have never been explored to their utmost depths, all kinds of singular notions have been associated with them, — purposes astronomical, sacerdotal, geographical, and tyrannical, — until all probability has been set aside, and conjecture has become ridiculous. The pyramids lie right across the river from Cairo, upon the edges of the great Libyan Desert, and are easily accessible, except when the land is laid under water by the periodical inundations. They are not all the same, nor all together, as many suppose. Some, as at Dashoor, are of brick; some are nearly obliterated, as at Sakkara. A few retain their outer and smooth coating; one of them, the largest, has an extensive square platform at the top. None of them appear as prominent near at hand as in the distance; the first sight from the river before reaching Cairo impressing one more than any other vision of travel, — more than the Bay of Naples, the minarets of Constantinople, the luscious gardens of Damascus, or the deathlike nakedness of the Dead Sea.

Miss Martineau, in her book on "The East," speaks of the difficulty of ascending the Cheops pyramid, the only one which travellers are accustomed to mount. The stairs are the several courses of stone, frequently three feet high, and sometimes four, but rather diminishing towards the summit. There are generally no half-way steps to divide the strain of one's limbs. To the weak or aged the effort is severe, and not at all agreeable to ladies. But two stout Arabs seize the stranger by either hand, and commonly another insists upon lending his services in pushing behind, so that the ascent of nearly four hundred feet may be made in a quarter of

an hour, and has not a particle of real danger about it. And then, there is an unrivalled view from the wide level which makes the present summit. Cairo is seen with its domes and minarets to the east; the Sakkara pyramids stretch far away to the south; the Nile, with its beautiful line of green, bears the eye along towards the rich and level Delta; and round all, that frowning desert, spreading out its yellow wing as if to sweep away man and his works with the very besom of destruction.

That this most visited pyramid was a royal tomb, none can doubt. Besides standing like all its fellows among vast ranges of mummy-pits, or surrounded by fragmentary memorials of the departed, a king's sarcophagus was found in the inner apartment, unmarked, however, by any inscriptions, a proof, as some think, of the antiquity which preceded any alphabet and any form of monumental inscription. The interior is chiefly remarkable for the perfect polish and exquisite jointure of its granite blocks. No modern art can give stone a more beautiful finish; none appears to approach this almost imperceptible union of stone with stone through long courses of masonry; none certainly pretends to the same immobility which has kept these mighty masses in the front rank of the battle with the desert sands and whirlwinds for these thousands of years; none can surpass the severe accuracy with which the air-passages are cut through the whole structure, some of them passing under the river, some to the head of the giant Sphinx. Three hundred and sixty-six thousand men are said to have been employed twenty years in erecting this royal mausoleum, which covers eight acres with its base, and reached formerly many feet higher than at present.

There are remains of sixty-nine pyramids, stretching along on the same side of the Nile for more than a score of miles; but they have proved such convenient quarries for building purposes, that not more than half would now attract the eye of the passer-by, and the process of demolition goes on apace. The present "law and order" of Egypt is to quicken as much as possible the revolution of the great circle of nature. Buildings go up easily out of the nearest unoccupied pile of stones. Had the materials of the great pyramid been as small as the stones of Dashoor, it might, like some of those, be

standing up now in palace-walls at Cairo. The tombs at Sakkara undergo an equally curious transformation, sometimes into a government factory, sometimes into a pleasure-house for a pacha. The interesting temple at Erment has nearly gone, and two similar edifices at Sheikh Fadl, whose existence was not suspected until too late to investigate their remains, have wholly perished. And it is strange that no outcries should be made over what ruthless barbarism is doing with treasures which it has no means to appreciate. At one famous spot, the Tombs of Beni-Hassan, the scientific traveller, Lepsius, has done more mischief than a whole generation of Turkish architects. Great sheets of carved hieroglyphics have been torn off from the walls, and almost one entire tomb carried away bodily, in the vain thought that a new Egyptian Museum at Berlin will compensate for the spoliation of one of the richest objects of interest in the whole world.

From the more celebrated, but less instructive, neighborhood of Geezels and Memphis, the stranger hastens over some four hundred miles of river-navigation to the tombs at Thebes. These, too, form a vast "city of the dead"; "the dead reign there alone"; hardly a jackal can be seen wandering over the glittering sands and naked mountain-ranges which form "the Libyan suburb" of a city hardly second in renown to Babylon, the ancient throne of the priest as well as of the king of this most ancient land. These sepulchres are confined to the northwest quarter of the city; none of them are found in Karnak, the northeast suburb, the city of temples, nor in Luxor, the residence of the commonalty as it is to-day. This proverbially wise nation anticipated our New England custom of setting apart the most melancholy sand-hill in the parish for a place of burial, while, by excluding interments from the city walls, here, as at Cairo and Alexandria, they anticipated by a few thousand years our latest improvement.

The present condition of this mountain-range of tombs is evidently a transition one. More, many more, are to be discovered and opened. The best of the present ones has not been wholly explored; and, on the other hand, every traveller lends a hand to destroy what remains, to obliterate carvings and to conceal hieroglyphics. Neither

dragoman, traveller, nor native pays any regard, either to the fading traces of the oldest art, to the hallowed rest of the renowned dead, or to the disappointment which future visitors must suffer when the last touch of the priestly limner's hand is obliterated by the smoky torches of careless guides. Were the present government half what the last was, were not "dust to dust" written all over the land, it were worthy the intercession of some intelligent nation to save for future generations these wholly original monuments of the remotest art. For the temple at Karnak and the obelisk at Heliopolis, the work of Osirtesen the First, were a wonder to the patriarch Abraham, as they are to us. While the Hebrew forefathers were but nomads wandering with their tents, and before any other civilization within our knowledge had begun, Egypt was as settled as it is in our time; its fields had their land-marks, its cities their crude brick houses, bazars, and palaces. And before the era of Jewish glory under David, and the dark period for Troy of its ten years' siege, Thebes had already fallen, — her hundred gates, the towers, that is, of her massive temples, were partly in ruins; and it is not till we have followed the Theban kings for six centuries that we begin upon the fabulous age of Greece.

Two of the tombs in the "Libyan suburb" may be selected as especially interesting. All travellers who ascend the Nile visit them both. "Belzoni's" was discovered by the celebrated traveller whose name it bears. Its entrance was carefully sealed up, until his time, by the same masonry which hides at present so many other mausoleums in this valley of the shadow of death. The passage, as far as yet opened, is three hundred and twenty feet of gradual descent into the mountain; and all the way above and on either hand are chisellings and paintings on the solid stone, — the chiselling as sharp and the painting as fresh as if of yesterday, — interrupted only by niches for doors, and occasional pits whose mummy-tenants have been taken away. The patient genius of Champollion has deciphered these proverbially unintelligible hieroglyphics. It will no longer serve to call an obscure handwriting "dark as the hieroglyphics." They have come forth from the silence and obscurity of the grave; they have opened to us their long-buried

secrets; their crowded mythology, their succession of kings, their rites of embalming and burial, their simple agriculture, their domestic life, their wars and their joys, are revealed to us beyond a doubt. It is possible that the recent French conjecture may be verified, and that Egyptian chronology may be vastly abridged, by the discovery that several of the monarchs have been contemporaneous instead of successive; and, in the same way, the interminable list of the high-priesthood may be brought within more credible limits than eighteen thousand years, by dividing the sacerdotal administration among two or more, or shortening the period of each generation in office; but the substantial facts are confirmed from such various sources as to be unquestionable. In the Belzoni succession of avenues and chambers, the first inscriptions portray the funeral services of the departed monarchs; next is the representation of the judgment of the spiritual world, partly grotesque, though Egyptian gravity may have regarded it as only a becoming cheerfulness; then come various expressions of homage to the gods. By and by, in the grand hall, we find a connected picture of the different stages through which the soul must pass; last of all there meets us the procession for worship,—the priesthood bearing offerings and attended by music; and then the fallen stones and earth very properly close the way, and leave us to reflect with wonder how early and how far these arts of cutting stone and painting some coarse but imperishable colors had been cultivated, and to what length the power of the sovereign or the affection of the people had prosecuted a work which began with a monarch's reign and closed only with his death. The most careless observer cannot but be interested, if he passes by in contempt the frequent name of Osirei the Second. If the mysterious evil eye has no charm for the first time, the towing of boats up and down cataracts and over bridges, the sometimes childlike delineation of trees and flowers, and the various stages of the work, from the first chalking upon the naked wall to the most finished painted carving, must be acknowledged to be curious. But the most remarkable tomb in this valley, Beban el Molouk, is also the richest monument of ancient art in the world: though the work of two of the Rameses, it has generally borne the name

of "the Harpers," from two musicians engraved in its hall of music. It is not alone its vast extent of four hundred and thirty feet which made Champollion pronounce this the most magnificent; nor the eight lateral chambers which open upon its main avenue; nor the sarcophagus chamber with its zodiac. It is, that all Egyptian life passes before one here, all the poetry of its mythology, all its priestly teachings of the judgment after death. The first side-room upon entering is the kitchen department, with all culinary processes represented upon its walls; then come boats and boating, with elaborate decorations; then weapons and chariots of war, forming a perfect arsenal of Egyptian arms and ensigns; then the various instruments of music, with the two, perhaps blind, harpers, clothed in white dresses with a red stripe, playing each upon ten strings. And, wonderful to relate, very many of the same occupations are pursued to-day with the same instruments. That, after more than thirty centuries, the same patterns for the bellows and the plough, for pottery and for many articles of furniture, remain in use in the same land, is one of the most striking proofs of the stationary character of the Eastern mind. Nor are the curiosities of this vast repository easily exhausted. The strongest light from the pitch-pine cresset will not reveal any longer the zodiac upon the roof of the main apartment; but there is the serpent everywhere, sometimes double-headed, sometimes with a multitude of human heads, sometimes dragging his slow length along the whole apartment. Another room gives us sketches of four distinct nations; another, the entire process of embalming; and still another, the judgment upon the gluttonous sinner of being ferried back to the world in the shape of a hog by monkey boatmen! Some of the household furniture presents our latest and most elegant patterns, and the heaven-like ceiling of the principal passage cannot fail to be admired. What a melancholy contrast to this imperishable splendor are the best mausoleums of the present lords of the land! Near Cairo, in a forlorn-looking desert, stand the tombs of the Mameluke kings, erroneously named the Caliphs. They possess some of the best features of the Saracenic structures, are light, graceful, and gorgeous in ornament, each a miniature mosque, with the gayest possible colors and

richly gilt marbles; yet, a few years more, and hardly a vestige of them will be seen. While the Turk will not usually rob a tomb of modern date, as is continually done with the more ancient ones, he will never in any part of the world repair what is decayed; and the rent walls, leaning minarets, decayed screens, and cracked domes of these Mamelukes tell a story that will soon be told no more. The interiors consist generally of one room, partly carpeted with rich rugs for use in prayer, and presenting as the only peculiarities the Turkish tombstone, an oblong marble slab with a pillar at each end, that at the head bearing the turban, in case the deceased has not died by the bowstring. But besides their melancholy frailty of structure, nothing imposing, nothing that leaves a solemn awe upon the mind, is presented by even the most celebrated Sultan's tomb. There is the rounding and generally beautiful dome, and the lovely minaret, and all beside is that "dust to dust" which might be inscribed over as well as within the whole Ottoman Empire.

The temples are the next wonder of the land. They are not so marvellously superior to every thing else of the kind as the tombs, because the mind of the nation was not so inordinately directed to the religious education of the living as to the preservation of the departed. And yet, after seeing the most renowned temples of Greece and Rome, those of Egypt tower above all recollections of religious edifices, as the pyramids overtop the crowded capital at their feet.

The temple of Karnak far surpasses any other in the world by its vastness of extent, by the variety of architectural periods which it presents, by the richness of its work, the beauty of some of its materials, and the general picturesqueness of its ruins. Its position is directly across the river from the valley of tombs. The main entrance was from the river, through an avenue of sphinxes with the ram's head and lion's body, leading directly to a grand gateway or propylon, in front of which stood two granite statues of the Pharaoh Rameses the Second, the great temple-builder of Egypt. Passing through this propylon, one of whose towers still lifts up its full height above the adjoining edifice, suggesting the purposes of defence to which it might be applied, next comes an open court three hundred and twenty-nine feet by two hundred

and seventy-five, with a covered corridor on either side and a double line of columns down the centre. This area again is terminated by another propylon with a small vestibule introducing into the grand hall. This famous palace-saloon of the Egyptian divinities is one hundred and seventy feet by three hundred and twenty-nine, according to Wilkinson, was built by Osirei, the father of Rameses the Second, 1380 B. C., and its massive stone roof rested upon twelve columns, each twelve feet in diameter and sixty-six feet high between the pedestal and capital, besides one hundred and twenty-two less gigantic pillars, disposed on either side of the illustrious twelve. The Church of St. Martin's in the Fields is considered one of the largest English churches, and yet four such buildings would not occupy all this vast area, while this is only one of many similar halls reached by long ranges of sphinxes, through lofty gates, between massive towers, faced by the loftiest obelisks, — so vast in extent, so irregular in plan, the traveller gets no distinct idea of El-Karnak, except as one endless ruin. The inner extremity of the grand hall is closed by two other towers, beyond which are two obelisks, one standing, the other fallen and broken by human violence. Smaller propyla succeed to this court; and next come two still larger obelisks, the one of them now standing being ninety-two feet high, surrounded by figures in bass-relief bearing the bland features of Osiris. Two other and ruined propyla give entrance to a smaller area, richly ornamented also, succeeded by a vestibule through which one passes within the granite gateway that forms the *façade* of the court immediately before the sanctuary. This Holy of Holies is of red granite, divided into two apartments, which are surrounded by numerous chambers, varying in size from twenty-nine feet by sixteen to sixteen by eighteen. Behind these adyta, which in Egyptian temples are often twofold, as implying the worship of a male and a female deity, appear a few polygonal columns of very ancient date; and beyond, again, are two pedestals of red granite, which may have supported obelisks, but which appear more like the bases of statues. After this comes the building erected by Thothmess the Third, its outer wall destroyed on three sides; and, parallel to this, thirty-two square pillars, the

oldest remaining in Egypt, of the reign of Osirtasen the First, with twenty-two columns in the centre, disposed in two lines parallel to the back and front rows of pillars. Here, again, in this oldest part, are numbers of small apartments, partly underground, called the Chambers of the Kings. The total length of this portion of the temple, from the front gateway to the extremity of the wall of circuit, is eleven hundred and eighty feet. The various additions which were made at different periods to please the priesthood, gratify royal pride, display personal piety, or secure the favor of the deities and their earthly representatives, give such a vast extent and variety of styles and directions to the buildings, as to confuse and bewilder the common eye. The statement of Diodorus, that the circuit of the most ancient of the Theban temples measured thirteen stadia, or a mile and a half English, is within the truth, as his allowance for the height of the great hall falls short of the reality, and that itself is exceeded by the sublime appearance within. Well may Denon say, "The imagination, which rises above our porticos, sinks abashed at the foot of the hundred and thirty-four columns of the hypostyle hall of Karnak." But the general impression is of an endless labyrinth of broken and half-buried columns, of fallen obelisks and shattered statues, of prostrate walls, broken sphinxes, and decayed propyla, scattered about in wild ruin by some stronger destroyer than man. Lathyrus, it is said, vented a peculiar spite upon rebellious Thebes; Cambyses seemed determined, in his wholesale destruction, to leave nothing that could be put out of existence; the Greeks were even more cruel to this particular city than the Persians, for it never revived after their spoliation; but some of the overthrow was on too vast a scale to be wrought before the era of gunpowder by any thing short of an earthquake.

And then the rare beauty and elaborate finish of much of the work require to be seen in order to be felt. Hardly a stone without or within but attracts the eye by a human figure or a hieroglyph telling an intelligible tale of the past to the initiated few. Wilkinson, whom all English travellers repeat, frequently without acknowledgment, thus describes the sculptures outside of the great hall.

"To commence with the northern extremity: the upper compartment represents the king attacking a fortified town, situated

on a rock, which is surrounded by a wood, and lies in the immediate vicinity of the mountains, whither the flying enemy drive their herds on the approach of the Egyptian army. In the first compartment of the second line the king engages the enemy's imfantry in the open field, wounds and slays their chief. The drawing in these figures is remarkably spirited, and cannot fail to be admired; nor are these groups the production of inferior artists, but of men whose talents would do credit to a later epoch than the fourteenth century before our era. In the second compartment, the Egyptian hero, having alighted from his car, fights hand-in-hand with the chiefs of the hostile army; one has already fallen beneath his spear, and, trampling on the prostrate foe, he seizes his companion, also destined to fall by his powerful hand. Returning in triumph, he leads before his car the fettered captives, whom he offers, with the spoil he has taken, to Amunre, the god of Thebes. This consists of vases, silver, gold, precious stones, and whatever the monarch has collected from the plunder of the conquered country. The lowest line commences with an encounter between the Egyptians and the chariots and infantry of the Rot-ñ-no. Their chief is wounded by the arrows of the Egyptian monarch, who closely pursues him, and disables one of his horses with a spear. He then attempts to quit his car, as his companion falls by his side covered with wounds. The rout of the hostile army is complete, and they fly in the utmost consternation. The victorious return of King Osirei is the next subject; and, alighting from his chariot, he enters the temple of Amunre to present his captives and booty to the protecting deity of Thebes. He then slays with a club the prisoners of the two conquered nations, in the presence of Amunre, the names of whose towns and districts are attached to other figures on the lower part of the wall.

"The order of the other historical subjects commences at the southeast angle. In the lower line the Egyptians attack the infantry of an Asiatic enemy in the open field; they subdue them and make many captives, and their march is directed through a series of districts, some of which are at peace with, others tributary to them. The inhabitants come out to meet them, bringing presents of vases and bags of gold, which, with every demonstration of respect, they lay before the monarch. He afterwards meets with opposition, and is obliged to attack a hostile army and a strongly fortified town, situated on a high rock, and surrounded by water, with the exception of that part which is rendered inaccessible by the steepness of the cliff on whose verge it is built. It seems to defy the Egyptian army, but the enemy are routed and sue for peace. Their arms are a spear and battle-axe, and and they are clad in a coat of mail with a short and close dress. The name of the town, Kanana, and the early date of the first year

of the king's reign, leave little room to doubt that the defeat of the Canaanites is here designated. In the other compartments is represented the return of the Pharaoh to Thebes, leading in triumph the captives he has taken in the war, followed by his son and a royal scribe, with a body of Egyptian soldiers. The succession of countries and districts he passes through on his return is singularly but ingeniously detailed: a woody and well-watered country is indicated by trees and lakes, and the consequence of each town by the size of the fort that represents it; bearing a slight analogy to the simple style of description in Xenophon's retreat." *

But we must not prolong our extracts, as our whole space would not be sufficient to describe all these elaborate delineations and the hieroglyphics conveying the connected history. We have given only a small portion of the outside sculptures of a single hall. The colossal statues lying around in fragments full of majesty, the obelisks,† here as appropriate and significant as they are unmeaning at Paris and Rome, the miles of sphinxes, so beautiful as mute guardians of mysteries which seem identified with themselves, even separate from a temple in which the "Crystal Palace" might almost be hid, must remain, as long as any trace of them endures, among the most interesting objects in the world. Architecture, the most imposing of arts, never so awed the soul before. Human history never turned her torch so far back into the cave of the past. Such gigantic remains, bearing so human an aspect, nowhere else so win us to revere the patriarchs of mankind. And yet, at regular intervals along the Nile, at Abusimbal, Philæ, Edfoo, Esneh, Denderah, and Abydos, are remains of nearly equal interest, — some of them almost as perfect as if finished yesterday, — none of them imitated from the others, and several coming more and more to the light of day by the excavations of the earth, with which they have been filled, for government works.

These temples, too, stand before us not merely as the memorials of ancient piety. Here were preserved and perpetuated all the literature, art, and science of their time. Here was a place for the historian, the physician, the architect, the astronomer, the linen-manufacturer,

* Modern Egypt, Vol. II. pp. 258 - 260.

† The largest is of four hundred tons' weight, and ninety feet high.

and the mummy-maker. Here, too, the stronghold of national defence was provided, in the lofty and massive tower, in whose walls at Thebes the brave Copt resisted for three years all the arms of Greece, then disappeared from history. And here Solon gained his wisdom and Greece her alphabet, here Plato studied thirteen years, and Moses spent the earlier portion of his days! Before these temples the roll of what we call history has been opened, — Babylonians and Jews, Persians, Greeks, and Romans, here passed as figures in the magic lantern, then vanished, — and still they remain.

Egyptian temples and tombs are framed as for a picture by Egypt itself. The Nile is inferior in interest to no river in the world. Besides the antiquities upon its banks, there is the frequent dome of the sheik's tomb, and the graceful minaret; the exuberant vegetation contesting possession of the water-edge with the encroaching sand; the shadoof and the sakkia continually busy, watering the grateful soil; the crocodile and ibis upon the waters; the date and doom palm upon the land; the buffalo and the camel working near every village; the Arab woman with her perpetual water-jar, and the Arab boatman with his funereal march and song, — all peculiar, instructive, fascinating, dream-like. And then the stream itself is magnificent as our own Mississippi, the sky perpetually brilliant, the sunset ever beautiful and strangely prolonged, the winter climate the finest in the world, and the vegetable growth luxuriant as the prairies, but more rapid and diversified. But for mere sight-seeing nothing can equal an Arab city, and no Oriental city, not even Constantinople or Damascus, can compare with Cairo. It is not merely that there are four hundred mosques of exquisite Saracenic architecture, older than those of Constantinople and more freely opened to the stranger, and eleven hundred peculiarly Oriental coffee-houses, — it is not that "the ship of the desert," nearly unknown at Constantinople, everywhere thrusts forward his lank neck and ungainly body, often in caravan-equipment, — it is not that the dark, narrow, twisting, mat-covered lanes swarm with every nation under heaven, the thin-limbed Bedouin and the muscular Moor, the indolent Turk and the wily Greek, the handsome Albanian and the barbarous Copt, the black-faced eunuch

and the filthy Jew, the effeminate Persian and the stirring Anglo-Indian officer, the dreamy Oxford student or the rapid Yankee traveller, jostling one another without concern; — the bazaars and every thing about them are a perpetual curiosity. Charles Lamb used to wander in his dreams through the cities of the East; — it is like dreaming awake to loiter to-day among the long line of little shops making the bazaar of Cairo, each trade in its separate quarter, with its Khan for the wholesale business and the lodging of strangers, and all, both the goods and the work, entirely exposed to the passer's gaze. Here sits the busy blacksmith at his anvil, there kneels a man before the dexterous barber, — here is the veiled female with her thin sheets of bread, or flattened cakes of manure for the fire-place, — here the joiner holding one end of his block with his toes, there the water-man squirting from the hogskin upon his shoulders enough of the Nile to lay the dust, — here the minaret-call to prayer in the name of Allah the Merciful, and there the loud crack of the buffalo-whip warning you that a carriage is soon to dash through the throng. And these are but the beginning of strange experiences; the funeral and the wedding, the court of justice and the Dervish-mosque, the crowd driven out to till the fields, and the other crowd driven in to be whipped for not paying taxes, the serpent-charmer and the street juggler, — all these form a changing kaleidoscope of the strangest hues and forms.

Away in some obscure place is the slave-mart; but in the universal oppression of the people, one eye often being put out and one finger cut off to escape military service, the nominally free peasant bound by the threatened lash to the field labor which yields nine tenths of its returns to the government, the common people living in general, hopeless (yet not suffering) destitution, slavery does not appear so dark by way of contrast. Though forbidden to Europeans, though the traffic has been formally abolished by the *Hatti sherif* of Abdul Medjid, no sight is more familiar than the full-laden slave-boat on the Nile. The victims are supplied by periodical slave-hunts, and dragged along in caravans to the river, where they are boated down in jolly groups to Cairo, Alexandria, Constantinople, &c. After reaching Assouan, their

sufferings are over, they begin to exult in the hope of rising by a master's favoritism to some place of power or ease. Color is no prejudice to their advancement: the jet-black servant seems often to be preferred: the domestic is not sold again, unless for some vice: there is an unlimited range for ambition, as the caprice of a sultan or pacha may make his prime-minister of his darkest slave; and the sultana herself has commonly been bought, either by her husband, or by him who sought favor at court in making the richest gift to the sovereign's haram, and securing his own advocate a hearing at the most favorable times. Probably slavery never was seen under more mitigating circumstances than in the Ottoman empire, where it is likely to last as long as any thing of the empire remains.

And how long is that empire to last? What is called "the Eastern question" becomes exceedingly interesting in relation to Egypt. This ancient garden of the world might recover its former population, wealth, and splendor; under any respectable Christian power it might be once more the envy or the admiration of mankind. Mehemet Ali showed what might be done by the mere will to improve, stripped of every advantage, embarrassed by personal ignorance and popular prejudices, and surrounded by evil advisers and corrupt agents. Trained up in an Ottoman camp, utterly uneducated, unacquainted, as many Mussulmans are, with the advanced civilization of Europe, resisted by the power of Europe and the prejudice of England, his fearless energy gave him the viceroyalty of Egypt, and came very near giving him the throne at Constantinople. And wherever his hand reached, it was felt as an enchanter's wand. Throughout Egypt and Syria he secured the perfect safety of the stranger; the isolated monk for the first time breathed freely, the European traveller could exult in the protection of his Frank dress. He built broad roads, erected thirty-five thousand water-machines to irrigate the deserted lands, established a first-rate arsenal and a navy, raised up a disciplined army, swept off the savage Mamelukes, opened several large manufactories of cotton and sugar along the Nile, carried the river directly by Alexandria to the Mediterranean, freely forgave the attempt upon his own life, manifested the utmost intrepidity,

breathed something of his progressive spirit into his people, and unveiled to the East a brilliant future, which his successor is shrouding over by his personal indolence, his waste of public funds, and his Mohammedan fanaticism. English writers were never weary of finding fault with the regenerator of Egypt. When he adopted the plans of the best French engineers, he seemed to be even more censured than when he rejected them. When his zeal set thirty thousand peasants at work to dam the Nile and overflow its barren borders, the outcries were vehement at his hurrying a work which, now that he is gone, will probably never be finished. The author of "The Nile Boat" even attacks him for not having made his men use European tools upon the canal, when the people are proverbial for preferring their own clumsy, slow, exhausting, antiquated ways of work. Now that stupid Abbas Pacha oppresses the people just as much that he may build crumbling palaces, carry on low sports with animals, and feast himself till he cannot walk, — now that the public works are running to ruin and depopulation advances, — the irreparable loss in the death of the greatest Oriental ruler since Saladin begins to be felt.

All Egypt wants at present, and what it does grievously want, is the encouragement of some civilized government to *develop its agricultural resources in its own way.* It does not need the immensely extensive system of canalization proposed by the French, nor the swarm of English tax-gatherers to erect steam-pumps along the river with the poor remains of an English taxation, as some writers urge; the people are already taxed to death, and no more foreign machinery should be brought in at present to be abandoned, like the existing cotton-factories; every costly innovation upon the labor of the country ought to be frowned upon. The people should be assisted to multiply their products after their own fashion, and of such kind as they can produce in greatest abundance and ease. The army and navy, now so useless, hateful, costly, and cruel, should be first of all reduced; the customs of Alexandria should be made to bear the principal burdens of finance; no more needless and perishable palaces should be permitted; instead of steam-engines, a better water-wheel with an endless chain of buckets, and a water-tight vessel instead

of the leaky willow water-basket, might readily be introduced. But the first, grand, vital measure must be to relieve the Fellah of that burden of taxation which is breaking him down, by securing him a decent share of the results of his labor, exempting him from the tyranny of petty officials, and never forcing him into modes of toil repulsive, unnatural, and unprofitable. An American, from his experience at home, can see how much, yet how little, the Egyptian peasant needs to have done for him. No European power is wholly able to teach what all need so much to learn, that the best government is that which interferes the least; and the happiest people, that which is left to develop itself as nature and Providence direct. F. W. H.

Art. IV. — THE CREED OF AN INDIVIDUAL.

There is, as is well known, a continual demand, among inquiring men of other denominations, for a statement of Unitarian belief. The various attempts which have been made to meet this demand have necessarily failed, because the Unitarian denomination is not based so much upon religious belief, as upon religious liberty. They unite, it is true, upon the doctrine of the sole deity of the Father; but this does not distinguish them from a large body of Friends, of Christians, and of Universalists. Their distinguishing feature is their individual freedom, and diversity of opinions. Hence it is impossible to frame a creed which shall satisfy the mass of the denomination, and the consequence is, that but few Unitarians have digested their doctrines into the form of a statement or creed.

Now there are decided advantages to be gained by throwing our knowledge into a systematic form, — advantages to be gained by the systematizer himself, and also by others, even by those who disagree with him. It is fashionable, among those who would be spiritual, to speak contemptuously of systems and of doctrines. Nevertheless, man has an understanding as well as a heart, and it is impossible for any man to be without belief of

some sort in regard to the objects of his feelings and affections. Moreover, the belief or judgment of others is an assistance to us in forming our own, even when we differ entirely from the views presented. The innumerable false theories and imperfect theories which have been published, and are now daily published, on matters of exact science, have been, or will be, of great benefit in perfecting the true theories, and the promoters of science encourage in every practicable way the immediate publication of the results of every investigation. If this be desirable in other sciences, if in them each humbler word has its value, much more is it true in theology.

We have therefore sought to legitimate our religious faith by reasoning, and to form a summary of the points of our belief in a logically connected series. We publish it, not because we suppose that the majority of the denomination would agree with it, nor because we suppose that they would not agree, but because it is the creed of an individual, and may help other individuals in forming theirs. It is the fruit of our present knowledge and present thought. We will not bind ourselves to hold any part of it longer than it appears reasonable, much less would we bind any other man to hold it.

We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and of earth. We have arrived at this belief, if we rightly analyze our thoughts, through the consciousness of power and freedom. This consciousness gives us the idea of cause, and compels us to assume a cause for all things, a cause residing in a will. The assumption of a personal Creator, thus forced upon us by the consciousness of personality, is further confirmed by the character of the phenomena about us. Motion, on examination, is found to be governed by laws which exclude all but spiritual causes for motion. Symmetrical forms and harmonious intervals, on analysis, are found to be the result of thought. Organism implies the adaptation of means to ends. The relations of various parts of creation to each other, such as the solar system to our planet; the atmosphere, minerals, and metals, to organized beings; the animal to the vegetable kingdom; and the relation of the parts of each kingdom, and of each subdivision and individual to each other, — all indicate, in some instances demonstrate, the designing hand of

a Creator. Thus the very essence of our own mind leads, by irresistible induction, to a belief in God, which belief is confirmed by the testimony of all the phenomena in the universe. Atheism and Pantheism seem to us to be utterly absurd, at war with the plainest facts of consciousness, namely, our freedom and power, and with every sound induction from the facts of observation.

Nay, our philosophy leads us further than this, conducting us part of the way towards the second article of our creed. When the consciousness of freedom and power, introducing the idea of cause, introduces that of God, our reason immediately adds that God is, in himself, infinite, without any limitations or changes.

Creation is, therefore, a relative act; the purpose of creation has reference to the minds created. For creation must necessarily take place in time, and be subject to the limitations of space; it must be in conformity with design, and fulfil a purpose. And all these things are foreign to the idea of the Infinite and Absolute God; they pertain only to the conceptions of finite minds. God, considered in himself, being unchangeable, cannot act in time; being infinite, cannot act in space; having foreknowledge of all things, cannot form designs or frame purposes. That is, creation must be relative; it is not an inevitable part of God's being, but is a medium for communication between us and him. Thus our philosophy declares that this glorious frame of earth and sky was made as a revelation from God, to reveal to us, and to other children of the Heavenly Father, the glory and goodness of our Creator.

Other revelations from him are thus made probable on *a priori* grounds. Our relation to him becomes nearer and more endearing, when it is thus made manifest that he created us in love, and wishes to be known by us. He assumes a parental character in our eyes, and it is not unreasonable to expect him to speak to his children.

At this point we are met by the Christian Church, claiming to have received new and special messages from the Creator. We turn to the investigation of her claims, and whether we turn to Papist or Protestant Christian, we find the claim can be proved only by proving the authenticity of certain documents. Taking up, then, the evidence on this point, we find it conclusive.

The four Gospels, the book of Acts, the Epistles of several Apostles, are proved to be true histories and genuine letters, by an amount of evidence that is overwhelming, — evidence of a character that is decisive. And they contain the records of a revelation from God, direct intercourse with the Creator, through other means than that of simple creation.

But the Papist further claims, that there were important revelations intrusted to the keeping of the Church which were never written. Of this he brings no proof that is at all satisfactory to us; on the contrary, the Scriptures seem to deny such a doctrine. The Papist replies, that the Church can alone interpret Scripture. To which we answer, that we can prove the truth of Scripture only on the supposition that it is to be interpreted as ordinary human writings, by the usual laws of language. And if we prove its truth on our own interpretation, we must develop its doctrines in the same manner. It is absurd for the Papist to ask us, in studying the New Testament, to throw away the only foundation on which we can prove it is true and worthy of study. Nor do those Protestants seem to us reasonable, who, in studying the evidences of Christianity, use their own reason, but in studying its doctrines are guided by the voice of the Church. We must either yield to the authority of the Church, without asking for evidence, else we are to be guided by evidence, without resting on any human authority. The latter appears to us the more reasonable course.

Thus we are led to Protestant ground, and to the Unitarian denomination, because in that we think we find the fullest liberty, the most steadfast adherence to the right of private judgment. We class ourselves among them, because we find them holding up the motto, "Liberty, Holiness, Love," and practising on the motto which other Protestants hold up, "The Bible is the only religion of Protestants."

The second article of our creed is drawn from the New Testament, of whose truth we have already been convinced. We believe that Jesus was the Christ; that is, that *Jesus had authority to speak in God's name.* With the celebrated Locke, we believe that this is the fundamental doctrine of the Gospels and of the book of Acts;

and that a hearty conviction of its truth is sufficient to bring all the blessed fruits of Christianity into any man's soul.

The next inquiry, in logical order, is, On what subjects did he speak? From our study of the New Testament we should answer, He came to announce the terms, and arrange the means, of reconciliation between man and God. But this statement suggests collateral doctrines of great importance, and concerning which there has been much controversy in the Church. The word *reconciliation* implies a previous enmity; and a controversy has arisen whether the reconciliation was on the part of man only, or on the part of God also. We think that the evidence is all to show that God is ever loving, and needs no reconciliation. Indeed, in the original tongue of the New Testament, there is no ground on which to raise the question. The Greek language has two words for reconciliation, one signifying a mutual change, and the other the change of one party only. The latter is alone used in speaking of the reconciliation of men to God. Another controversy has turned upon the point, how much enmity there is in man toward God. That there is a sense in which men are enemies of God, is implied by much of the language of Scripture. But it does not follow that man hates God and hates all goodness, or that he is utterly corrupted in all his tastes and principles. If this did follow from the language of Scripture, we should doubt the validity of the reasoning by which we established the truth of Scripture. For the testimony of consciousness gives a direct denial to this doctrine. But conscience adds its emphatic assent to this charge of enmity against God, when we take that charge in its Scriptural meaning. The Apostles explain it in full, and in accordance with the words of Jesus. We have "made ourselves enemies," put ourselves in the attitude of enemies, "by our wicked works"; by breaking the law of God, and "not liking to retain God in our minds." Those who have not been reconciled to God are unwilling to think of him, or to submit to him. The whole duty of man is to serve God and keep his commandments. To him we owe all things, and he is our Supreme Ruler. When man, therefore, ceases to serve God, and begins to seek his own ends, he has re-

belled against God, by refusing to obey him, and by seeking to gain through his own strength that which he ought to seek from God.

The popular doctrine of total depravity may then be so guarded and explained as to be true. For if we define holiness as voluntary obedience to God, and define total depravity to be utter absence of holiness, then in this technical sense man may be called totally depraved. But such language appears to us altogether likely to deceive, except when it is the utterance of deep penitence, or of indignation at wickedness.

To return from this collateral doctrine of man's condition to the main inquiry, we next seek to know what were the terms of forgiveness which Jesus offered. We think that the four Gospels are very plain upon this point, and that *he offered free forgiveness on condition of repentance and faith.* The conditions are the simplest imaginable, repentance toward God and faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. Repentance toward God signifies, we think, a humbling of the heart before him, confessing our ingratitude and rebellion, and promising in sincerity henceforth to obey him. It is a complete change of heart toward God, dropping the attitude of rebellion and enmity which our wicked works had given us, and taking that of obedient children. It is a change which, when truly made, is in general permanent. Repentance ushers in penitence, the acceptable state wherein every accidental transgression is instantly and earnestly disclaimed by the soul, keeping its heart loyal toward God. Faith in our Lord Jesus Christ signifies, we think, a conviction of his authority earnest enough to make us trust in his promises, and live by his teaching and example. And this is his promise, that God will forgive and receive into favor the repentant soul who trusts in him.

But did it require a special commission from the Most High God, to announce so simple a doctrine as this? Did the thunder of Sinai, the word of the prophets, the song of the angels, foretell a Messiah whose most important revelations should be so simple a thing as this? We answer, without hesitation, Yes. It is a simple, but grand doctrine; needed more than all others, yet not attainable by human reason; indeed, so unreasonable in the eye of our corrupted reason that it is rejected to this

very day, even by those who acknowledge the authority of Jesus. The paternal instincts of man might lead us to hope for forgiveness, but this hope would be repressed by the unchanging character of natural laws, and the unfaltering execution of the penalty for violating them. It is only in the authorized promise of Jesus made in the Father's name, that we have a sure and stable ground of hope.

The terms of forgiveness are then simply, that we should repent of sin, and trust in God's mercy as offered in Christ Jesus. The means of reconciliation employed by our Lord are somewhat more numerous. In the first place, he uses direct entreaty with us, urging his pleas upon us by reference to the fatherly kindness of God, as shown in his providence over us, and in the messages of his love in Christ's own mission. He still further urges these entreaties by threatenings of God's judgment upon those who will not repent. Secondly, he moves our hearts by the manifestations of his own love towards us, giving us that assurance of God's love, inasmuch as he is the highest image of God to be found among created beings. These manifestations of Jesus's love are to be found in all the words of his lips, and in all the events of his life, but most of all in its closing scenes. We therefore place our Lord's death as the third means of reconciliation. He slays the enmity of our hearts by his cross, giving us such a proof of his love, by dying for us while we were yet enemies, that no man can look upon it unmoved. In the crucifixion we have concentrated the strongest possible proof of God's love and of man's enmity. Men crucified God's dearest Son, the express image of his Father; and would doubtless crucify God himself, could he appear among them in human shape. Such is their enmity, and yet such is God's goodness that he seeks to save men, and sends to them his Son, so full of love and of desire to effect man's salvation that he willingly endures the torture of the cross for them.

And thereby was the enmity of man defeated. For the death on the cross led the way to a triumphant resurrection, which is the fourth means of our reconciliation, inasmuch as it is the central and most striking proof of Jesus's authority to treat with us in God's name; and is also the most convincing of all proofs that man is im-

mortal, a truth whose solemn import most frequently leads a man to reflect upon his condition and prospects, and makes him desirous of the salvation that is by Christ Jesus.

But the most effectual means of influencing men is in the Holy Ghost; that is, in a present spiritual influence exerted by Jesus upon the hearts of individuals, according to a power which God the Father gave to him. The doctrine of a Holy Spirit moving within the hearts of men is distinctly and emphatically a doctrine of the New Testament, and a doctrine of the Christian Church. The more popular form of the doctrine is that the Holy Spirit is a personal God; the more rationalistic view makes it an influence of the Supreme Being; but we think the Scriptural view is, that it is an influence which God commits to our Saviour to exert over us.

Thus, then, would we sum up our creed: — We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and of earth. We believe that Jesus had authority to speak in his name, and that he offered free forgiveness to men on condition of their repentance and faith. We believe that he seeks to reconcile men to God by the power of the written records of the New Testament, and by a present exercise of his power over individual hearts.

Among the collateral doctrines implied in this creed, or necessarily resulting from it, we cannot overlook that of the immortality of the soul. We think that all the natural arguments in favor of this truth are unsatisfactory. They create a presumption, not a faith. Jesus bids us rest on the infinite love of God for our hope of future life. With his assurance we dare thus rest, and believe our life shall be as eternal as the love of God. And from this doctrine of immortality a still more glorious hope arises. Inasmuch as there are no limits to our spiritual nature, and no limits to our life, we may rationally hope there are no limits to our growth, but that the soul redeemed by the ministry of Jesus shall ever increase in wisdom, love, and power for ever and for ever.

What the nature of our employment there shall be, what are the woes that shall fall upon the sinner's head, what the joys that shall fill the redeemed soul, we know not. These are questions suggested by our view of Christianity, but not solved. For their answer we "wait the great teacher, Death."

We have thus thrown together in a connected series our views of Christian doctrine, — restraining ourselves from all argument in their defence, — and giving them in hopes of aiding others to form their views, whether similar or dissimilar to ours. For we would rather help another form decided views, even if erroneous, than encourage him in being undecided and indifferent while holding the truth. We have great suspicions of that spirituality which calls doctrines mere husks, and neglects them to pursue the fruits of the spirit. There can be no faith, unless there is a belief on which to found it. There can be no action without a motive, and no motive without emotion, and no emotion without a perception, and no perception but can be stated in a proposition. So the use of the understanding is necessary to all spiritual life. Deny the value of doctrines, deny the need of satisfying the understanding, and you deny your own existence. No man can live without a belief, and if he reject what he calls doctrines, he embraces something, which perhaps is not worth calling by the name; — but something he must hold. We do not wish to force our opinions upon others, but opinions they must of necessity hold, and we simply would maintain the necessity of care and labor in forming opinions. Doctrines, we repeat it, are not the worthless things which so-called spiritual men sometimes declare them; for doctrines are but forms of stating truths, and all truths are of infinite value. There can be no truths unworthy of attention and of earnest thought. The folly of the elder philosophers was not in their eagerness upon trifling doctrines, but in their sophistry upon all subjects. To reason soundly and arrive at true conclusions upon any point is a worthy exercise for any mind, much more to reason well upon subjects that pertain to God and to eternity, to Christ and man's salvation.

We must each one have his creed, and each one perhaps will differ from all others. For we must, before we close, beg the reader, especially if he differ widely in his views, to remember that we have not been speaking in the name of a denomination or a party, but giving the creed of only an individual. T. H.

Art. V. — THE UNITED STATES COAST SURVEY.

The Reports of the Coast Survey annually printed by order of government are probably little read, except by those immediately interested. The titles of the publications which have already appeared are too numerous to be mentioned here. The first sight of such volumes of statistics is not attractive; but if they are closely examined and compared together from year to year, they are seen to exhibit a plan of operations far-reaching as the country, a series of investigations almost as extensive as the field of science itself. The administration of Jefferson gave an impulse to the progress of science, the waves of which are still extending, and in this period the Coast Survey was suggested by Professor Patterson. It was warmly urged by Albert Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, and on the passage of the act in 1807 authorizing the survey, letters were addressed by him to several persons of scientific reputation, asking suggestions for its plan. Those of Mr. Hassler, a native of Switzerland, who had acquired a reputation in his own country by the survey of the Canton of Berne, were considered the best, and in 1811 Mr. Hassler was sent to Europe to procure the necessary instruments for commencing the work. Owing to the war of 1812, and some other impediments, he did not return until 1816, and the first operations of the survey were scarcely begun, when the law authorizing the employment of other than navy and army officers was repealed, and Mr. Hassler's connection with the work ceased in consequence. For a period of about eleven years the Coast Survey seems to have been forgotten; it was then brought before Congress by the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Southard, in a report in which he declares his belief that a proper survey of the coast cannot be made except under the powers given by the law of 1807. In consequence of his efforts, in 1832 the act of 1807 was revised, and Mr. Hassler was reappointed superintendent of the work, a post which he continued to hold until his death. With peculiarities of character which entitle Mr. Hassler to the name of "an original," he is admitted by all to have been a man of strong intellect and great love of

science, and to have prosecuted the work with a zeal worthy of the gratitude of the country. Those who were in his employ always speak of him with great respect, some, notwithstanding the asperities of his character, with feelings of strong personal attachment. At his death, Dr. Bache, formerly President of Girard College, and widely known for his philosophical investigations, was chosen to fill the place, and the survey has since been under his direction. His fitness for the position is shown in the steady and rapid progress of the work, in the improvements introduced, and in the stimulus given by it to general scientific research.

The aim of the Coast Survey is to furnish all geographical, topographical, and hydrographical information touching the coast, necessary for commerce and defence. It is a trigonometrical survey, as it connects together different localities; it is geodetic, as it determines the position of these localities upon the surface of the earth. When the work came into Mr. Bache's hands, he divided the coast into sections, designing to carry it on so far as was possible with equal rapidity in each section. The first section extends from Passamaquoddy Bay to Point Judith, including the coasts of Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island; the second extends from Point Judith to Cape Henlopen, including the coasts of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and part of Delaware; and so on, section meeting section, that each shall verify its bounding sections. One advantage of such a division is, that the same party can work at the north in the summer and at the south in the winter, changing its position only with the change in the season, but not suspending its labors. Each section receives its orders from the superintendent, prosecutes its work as if an independent survey, and at the close of the season reports its progress. The plan of each section is this. A reconnoissance is first instituted, to determine a suitable position for a base-line, and to select points for what is called the "primary triangulation." For the base-line a level space is sought, and the islands which lie so plentifully scattered along the coast are frequently the chosen places. When they are at some distance from land, perhaps in a broad bay and where there are no prominent points, they enable

the principal triangles extending from the base to run across the body of water, and connect with points on the coast.

For the triangulation, elevations near the coast, with interior mountains with which they can connect, are preferred. From point to point, weblike, the primary triangles are thrown, and within and around these are smaller triangles, attaching their vertices to headlands, lighthouses, and spires, until the plans of the Coast Survey, mapped out, present a reticulated mass, seemingly too mazy to thread. In New England, a base-line was measured near Taunton; the primary triangles extend from Mount Blue in Maine to Indian Hill on Martha's Vineyard; the smaller triangles connect the intermediate points which lie near each other, and reach to the islands around.

The accuracy of measurement which is indispensable to an extensive survey begins with the base. It is easily seen that a small error in a base of five or six miles in length, on which is raised a superstructure of triangles whose sides sometimes extend to sixty, seventy, and even a hundred miles, becomes very considerable in the course of calculation. In the trigonometrical survey of England and Wales in the last century, a base-line was measured upon Hounslow Heath, by General Roy, with deal rods; but it was found, notwithstanding all the care taken that the wood should be well-seasoned, that the changes in the length of the rod, from different degrees of moisture in the air, destroyed all confidence in the measurement. Glass rods, which would be susceptible only to changes of temperature, were next tried, and a base of five miles measured. On remeasuring this with a steel chain, the disagreement was found to be only two inches and three quarters. This was then considered very great accuracy, and the steel chain came into general use. The difficulty of ascertaining its changes of temperature induced General Colby, in the survey of Ireland, and Mr. Borden in the survey of Massachusetts, to design an apparatus, in which they endeavored, by the employment of different metals, to eliminate the effect of variation of temperature. The apparatus adopted by each consists of two bars, one of brass and one of iron, placed parallel about an inch apart, having at each end a tongue of iron

perpendicular to the direction of these bars. The tongue moves upon joints, and a change in the length of the bars affects the inclination, and consequently the distance, between the tongues. Mr. Bache substitutes for the tongue a lever resting against the end of the lower bar; the point of resistance is at the end of the upper bar; the lever continues above this, and is met by a steel rod projecting from the next measure, which acts upon a lever of contact, bearing a delicate level. The contact between the two measures is that between a blunt knife-edge and a plane of agate. In the compensation of the bars, Mr. Bache introduced a principle not before recognized. "A bar of brass and a bar of iron will not heat equally in equal times, when exposed to the same temperatures, owing to the different conducting power of the two metals, their different specific heats, and the different power of their surfaces to absorb heat." When the temperature is changing, therefore, a system like that of General Colby and Mr. Borden ceases to be compensating. Mr. Bache adapted the sections of the bars as nearly as possible in proper ratio to each other, and then gave such a coating to the surface, that the combination is exactly compensating under changes of temperature. The bars are exposed to a high temperature, to give them a set, and sudden changes are then guarded against by giving the whole a covering of imperfectly conducting material. The bars are compared before and after measurement with a standard, by placing the standard bar and the measuring bar alternately between two granite pillars sunk in the ground, at a distance apart equal to the length of the bar, and protected from vibration. By using Saxton's reflecting pyrometer, very slight changes in the length of the bar are indicated.

The nicety of measurement is shown in the fact, that a remeasurement of a portion of one of the bases for verification indicated an error, in the whole extent of seven miles, of less than half an inch.

The measurement having been completed, the extremities of the line must be permanently marked; they will thus furnish starting-points for future surveys. It is a nice point to place the monuments marking the ends precisely over them. In the base measured in the fall of 1849, on Edisto Island, a stone several feet long was first

buried in the earth, in which was a copper bolt which by a transit instrument was placed immediately below the end of the last measure. A frustum of a cone of earthenware was placed around this, above it a wooden platform not touching the cone or stone, and upon this two stones several feet square, in which copper bolts were inserted, upon which the exact termination was again marked. Above these and above the surface rises the monument, marked with the name of the work, the superintendent, the date, and the number of the base. Besides these monuments at the extremities, at the end of each mile a stone is placed in the earth, a copper bolt inserted, and its termination marked upon the bolt.

From the base-line, the triangles, gradually increasing, extend to the primary triangles, the work being carried on at the same time in the large triangles and in the smaller ones depending upon them. The vertices of the primary triangles having been selected, some one of them is chosen as an observing station, and heliotropers are placed at the others. The heliotrope is an instrument designed by Gauss. It consists of a small telescope to which a mirror is attached, by means of which the reflected sunlight is projected in the direction from which the measurement is to be made. It is the duty of the heliotroper to keep this reflection constantly thrown in the proper direction for several hours every day. As in our part of the country he is placed upon elevations sometimes inaccessible except by clinging from tree to tree in his ascent, and far from human habitation, he must make society of the animals of the forest and the birds of the air, and become familiar, however unwillingly, with the various meteorological phenomena of his mountain home.

The angles between these heliotropes, gleaming like day-stars, are measured by means of a theodolite, the superiority of which over other angle-measuring instruments consists in its ability to measure angles in a horizontal plane, though the points are at different elevations. The angles between these stations determine their relative position, but to locate them upon the earth, azimuths, or the angles which the sides of the triangles make with the meridian, must be measured. This is done by directing the theodolite to one of the heliotropes,

and then to Polaris, or some other circumpolar star, at its greatest elongation, or greatest distance from culmination.

The mean of these two angles gives the azimuth of the station observed upon. The old method of determining azimuths was by observing the sun when in the direction of the station; this required a knowledge of the latitude and of the correct time; that by the pole-star at its elongation is independent of the latitude, and, as the motion of the star is slow, the exact time is not a matter of importance. The time being known, the star may be followed in every part of its course, if, as in the Coast Survey, the instrument used is sufficiently powerful. The telescope of the great theodolite of the Coast Survey is of four feet focal length, and Mr. Bache has introduced the method of observing circumpolar stars at equal distances from culmination. It is found that the observations are so much affected by meteorological phenomena, that they must be made at different times of day, and extend through several days. The elongation position of the star is referred to a wand by day and a lamp by night, and these are connected with the stations around, so as to avoid the local lateral refraction in a particular line. The measurement of backward azimuths is an improvement introduced by the present superintendent. When the azimuth of a certain point has been observed from a known station, the point is taken as the station, and the station as the point, and the angle again measured. It is found that these measurements do not agree, even when the same star is used, and all the corrections for known sources of error applied. As the theodolite is supposed to be placed vertically over the station, a deflection from verticality would lead to such a result; it is supposed that the crust of the earth is not homogeneous in its structure, though the topography indicates no such want of uniformity, and it would be unknown but for the divining rod of the plumb-line. This error is called the "station error"; it has, since its detection by the Coast Survey of the United States, become known to General Colby, in his survey of Ireland. It is important to the surveyor, and interesting to the geologist.

The angles between the stations, and of azimuth, in common with all the observations of the survey, are re-

peated again and again; for no instrument is so perfect as to require no variety of position to balance its errors; the atmosphere of no region is so steady as to be unvarying in its influences, and the observer himself differs at different times in his reading of the same angle, indicated by vernier or microscope.

The position of one of these points of the primary triangles being known, the length of one of the sides by a chain of triangles from the base, the angles between the different sides, and the azimuth of one, the lengths of the other sides and the differences of latitude and longitude must be computed. The triangle is spherical, but an ingenious method of computing was devised by Legendre, by which, after correcting for what is called the "spherical excess," the sides can be considered as sides of plane triangles, equal in length to the arcs. The differences of latitude and longitude calculated as on a plane would be very erroneous, as the extension of a small portion of meridian or parallel would lie above the surface of the earth. The figure of the earth has been a subject of inquiry since the time of Eratosthenes, and its investigations have engaged the attention of distinguished mathematicians and enlightened governments for the last century. It is not a question whose consequences are confined to the earth, for, in however small quantities, it enters into the investigations of the motions of the other bodies of the system with which it is connected. To ascertain its peculiarities of figure, astronomical observations must be combined with geodetic measurements. The differences of latitude ascertained by astronomical observations in degrees, between two places, compared with the difference in feet, will give the length of a degree. The French government, always on the alert in the cause of science, instituted a measurement of an arc of the meridian as early as the year 1670, from Amiens to Paris. This was measured by Picard; it was extended by Cassini south to Perpignan, and again to Barcelona in Spain; then by Biot and Arago to the most southern of the Balearic Isles. The French government also measured an arc from the Gulf of Bothnia, north; this has been extended under the direction of Struve, by the Russian government, south to Izmael on the Black Sea, making an immense arc, and if

it is connected with one measured by the British government in India, it will give an arc of about sixty degrees. One of six degrees was measured by the French government in South America in 1735; the English government measured one at the Cape of Good Hope, by Lacaille, about the year 1750; and in 1768, one of about one and a half degrees, by Mason and Dixon, crossing the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. These arcs, measured thus in the frozen regions of the north and under the burning sun of the south, when years have been necessary to overcome the obstacles, are creditable to the energy of the governments which sustained them; it is sad to see the devotion of those who conducted them so often proved by the sacrifice of life.

These measurements show that the degrees of latitude increase in length from the equator to the poles, but there have been occasionally results which seemed to show that this was not the unvarying law. The arc at the Cape of Good Hope gave some discrepancies when compared with the others, and for a time it was supposed that the earth's figure might be irregular in that region; Laplace suggested that the errors might arise from local attraction, and recent observations, made by Maclear with improved instruments, show the correctness of his supposition. The coast of the United States affords some good opportunities for aiding in this work. An arc of three and a half degrees extends from Nantucket to Blue Mountain, and another, of nearly three degrees, from near Portsmouth, Virginia, to Delaware River. This southern arc is of importance, as that of Mason and Dixon showed such disagreement, when compared with the others, that Bessel rejected it in his determination of the ellipticity of the earth, from the best observations. The coast survey observations are not yet completed, but they already show that the disagreement found by Mason and Dixon is not seen in their measurements.

The shape of the earth in the direction of the parallel is another question of interest; and in the Coast Survey, the long arc which extends along the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, from the coast of Florida to the mouth of the Mississippi, presents one of the best opportunities ever afforded for enlightenment upon this subject.

From a combination of the measurements of arcs of the meridian in different latitudes, rejecting those which might reasonably be considered erroneous, Bessel considered the ellipticity of the earth to be between $\frac{1}{299}$ and $\frac{1}{302}$. The knowledge of this ellipticity and of the radius of curvature in different latitudes enters into the calculations of the Coast Survey, for the differences of latitude and longitude derived from the observations of azimuth and for projection. The formulæ for reduction involve the higher mathematics. The practical man who uses these formulæ with ease is apt to forget the learning which is required for their proper application, the patient thinking which has brought them to their present simplicity of form.

At the extremities of these arcs of the meridian which we have mentioned, at some of the angles of the primary triangles, and wherever in the country a fixed observatory and good instruments are found, the use of which can be obtained at trifling cost, observations for latitude and longitude are made for the use of the survey. Though last to be employed in the order of time, the telegraphic operations for difference of longitude are now the most accurate and most important; we therefore consider them first. The earliest attempt to apply the magnetic telegraph to this end was made by Captain Wilkes, but without the nicety which is introduced into the operations of the Coast Survey. The subject had engaged the attention of the superintendent for some time previous, but the first experiment by the Coast Survey was made in 1846, to connect Washington and Philadelphia. The charge of conducting the experiments was given to Mr. Walker, assistant in the survey, who brought to the work great zeal and great ability; with such combination, few investigations are unsuccessfully pursued. The mode of proceeding consisted in giving a signal at one station, by pressing a key which closed the circuit. This closing was intended to be simultaneous with the passage of a star across the wire of a transit instrument, or with the beat of a chronometer. If the condition of the chronometer at each place is known, the time correctly noted, and no time required for the transmission of the galvanic current, the difference of longitude is known at once, by the difference of time. The

experiments were first made by means of two sidereal timekeepers.

It was found that, when the signals were given from one and received by the other, they were constantly noted at the same fraction of a second. When a mean solar chronometer was substituted for giving the signals, and they were received by a sidereal clock, the time of reception passed over different fractions of the second, and once in about ten minutes there was a coincidence of beats. By observing these coincidences and the marking of intervals at the same station, the difference between the two observers was known. If it were possible for two persons to estimate the time of occurrence of a phenomenon by means of the same instruments, they would not note the same time; their difference is called the "personal equation." Mr. Walker supposes that two persons who continue in the same place and in the same state of health maintain the same "personal equation," but it alters by any change of circumstances. Thus the departments of science which seem most remote touch upon each other; the observations of the Coast Survey lead to physiological and metaphysical questions. The value of this "personal equation" could be ascertained and the corrections for it made, but it was the largest accidental error, and very annoying, as the observers must either change places or be compared together. The wants of the survey called for more perfect methods of observing. Obedient to the call, there sprang up various methods of breaking the circuit and recording automatically. Mr. Bond of Cambridge, Dr. Locke and Mr. Mitchel of Cincinnati, and Mr. Saxton of Washington, each devised a clock upon a plan of his own, in which different methods of breaking the circuit were employed.

The circuit-breaking clock is not, we believe, peculiarly an American invention, but its application to geodesy and astronomy is the result of the needs of the Coast Survey, and the modes of registering are acknowledged as American by the European *savans*. The object of all the different methods is to cause a clock to make and break the galvanic circuit at intervals of a second, indicated by lines or dots on the register, without injury to the rate of the clock. To note the occurrence of a phenomenon, the observer taps a key which makes or breaks the circuit,

and the position of the mark made by the registering apparatus on a fillet of paper, which is kept by machinery constantly passing under the recording instrument, in relation to the record of time which the clock makes, is the date of the event. The difficulty of registering consisted in giving a uniform motion to the registering apparatus. Mr. Walker, in one of his reports to the superintendent, gives the preference to Mr. Bond's method, that of the "spring governor," by which a cylinder carrying the registering paper revolves with the accuracy of the clock. The electrical clock and "spring governor" made for the Coast Survey by Mr. Bond received one of the five medals awarded by the central commission of the recent Industrial Exhibition at London.

The advantage of this method of observing transits of stars, and consequently differences of longitude, is easily seen. In the ordinary method of observing the transit of a star, the eye noticed the instant of the star's bisection by the wire, the ear caught the beat of the chronometer, the mind measured the fraction of a second, and the fingers recorded the time.

The connection between eye and ear is not nice; the ear is supposed to be a far from delicately discerning organ; the judgment of fractions of a second involves error, and the fingers require considerable time to make their record; on their account, the wires of the transit instrument must be some twenty seconds apart. When the transit of a star is tapped upon a key, the closer connection between sight and touch is involved. The art of touching is more easily learned than that of counting seconds by the ear, and as the clock records its own time, the observer is immediately ready for another observation; the wires of the instrument may be placed near together, and the transits of the different stars of a cluster may be observed, — the observer looking at the stars and using his fingers simultaneously, as he would look at the notes of a piece of music, while he touched the keys of a piano. There is, besides, the advantage that different individuals agree much more nearly; for though a "personal equation" must exist, it is found to be insensible. Mr. Bache supposes that the observations made in this way for differences of longitude are not in error more than hundredths of a second.

The introduction of the automatic mode of registering having brought these observations to such accuracy, the next step was to measure the velocity of transmission of the current. It had been before supposed that it was enormously great, greater than that of light. Mr. Walker perceived that a correction was necessary in comparing observations made at different stations, which seemed to have a connection with the distance between those stations. Mr. Walker, in connection with Mr. Mitchel of Cincinnati and Mr. Bond of Cambridge, made some experiments expressly to investigate this subject. The Seaton station of the survey, near Washington, was connected with Cambridge, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Charleston, distances of more than a thousand miles taken in the direction of the wires. The observations for velocity were made with both chemical and mechanical registers. According to Mr. Walker, they agree in giving a velocity of 15,400 miles per second on the iron wire, about one thirteenth the velocity of light. The velocity in the ground is still an unsettled question; it is supposed to be less than that by the wires. There grow out of this question of velocity other questions of interest;—the different times of transmission required for each portion of a signal, supposing it resolvable into two, one made by closing and one by breaking the circuit; the variation of the velocity with the section of the wires, and the crossing of the waves on the two poles of the circuit.

As the telegraph cannot be used for all points, observations are also made of moon culminations, eclipses, and occultations. Mr. Bache instituted a careful investigation of all the observations which could be procured, made in this country or in Europe, of occultations and eclipses, from the papers of learned bodies or from scientific journals, and at the same time established a series of observations of these phenomena at the different places at which proper means could be found. Thus at present observations are making in the first section at Cambridge and Nantucket, in the second at Philadelphia, and in the fifth at Charleston; also at Washington, Cincinnati, and on the western coast.

The observation of moon culminations consists in noting the intervals of transit between the moon and

stars lying nearly on the same parallel of declination, and differing but little in right ascension. These intervals, compared with corresponding ones observed elsewhere, the rate of the moon's motion per hour being known, give the number of hours of difference of longitude. The calculation of longitude from observations of eclipses and occultations involves the relative position of the sun and moon, or the moon and star, for each place. A comparison of the results of these different methods showed a disagreement. The longitude of a place, derived from the moon culminations, is less than that derived from the eclipses and occultations, by several seconds of time. This is a large difference; it was perceived to be too large to be accidental; besides, an accidental error was likely to be destroyed by the number of observations and the variety of circumstances under which they were made. Mr. Walker supposed it to be too large for personal error, or for the effect of the moon's irradiation; and too steady for error in the values of the semidiameter; he decided, therefore, that it must result from error in the parallax, which was derived from Burckhardt's tables, and which were probably erroneous. Subsequently, a change in the value of the moon's parallax was suggested by Airy, and newly discovered sources of disturbance of the moon's motion were made known by Hansen.

Solar tables were commenced by Bessel, which are continued by Hansen, by whom, also, lunar tables are in preparation. Mr. Bache says in his Report: "We expect in due course of time to receive from the Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac the means of comparing our observations of occultations directly with the lunar theory, as perfected by the labors of Pluaa, Airy, Hansen, and Peirce, and with Airy's twelve-year catalogue of the stars, when we may resume the subject with better prospects of success." Recently, Mr. Miers Fisher Longstreth of Philadelphia has given new values to the coefficients of the lunar formula, by the use of which a closer agreement between observation and calculation is found, than by the best tables heretofore used.

To determine the difference of longitude between Europe and America, Mr. Bache established a chronometric communication between Liverpool and Cambridge. The

observers on both sides of the Atlantic use the same stars by which to rate their chronometers, and the person who accompanies the chronometers in their transportation compares the personal equation of each observer with himself. Mr. Bond, under whose direction these observations are made, communicates an interesting result, in a letter to Mr. Bache. He states, that the difference of longitude deduced from chronometers making the outward passage is greater than that from the homeward passage, and this too uniformly to be accidental. The cause of this disturbance of the chronometer's rate is an interesting subject, and when made known will be of value to navigators.

Observations for latitude, in the Coast Survey, are made with zenith telescope and zenith sector. Circummeridian altitudes and prime-vertical transits have passed out of use. In all astronomical observations those in which a result is immediately obtained are preferred; so much does the accuracy depend upon the uniformity of the atmosphere, the steadiness of the instruments, and the equanimity of the observer. When clouds are every moment threatening, as in our variable climate, when a long interval may occur, as in prime-vertical observations, between the east and west transit, the observer is almost sure to be affected by his trembling anxiety. With zenith instruments an observation is completed in a few minutes. The zenith telescope was first used for the determination of latitudes, by differences of zenith distances, by Captain Talcott of the United States Corps of Engineers. The instrument consists of a telescope attached to a vertical column, with which it revolves upon an azimuth-circle. It is fixed in altitude by a brass arc, or, as now used in the Coast Survey, by a friction band and clamp. The readings of differences of zenith distance are made by means of a micrometer, with a movable wire. The telescope having been adjusted to the meridian, the values of a revolution of the micrometer and a division of the level having been found, two stars are selected on opposite sides of the zenith, differing but little in right ascension, and so little in declination that one setting of the instrument in altitude may serve for both.

The position of the first star having been noted at the time of culmination, the instrument is turned 180° until

it meets a clamp previously placed, when the second star enters the field and is observed like the first. As the accuracy of the determinations of latitude by this means depends upon the known places of the stars, an error in the star catalogues is immediately felt. By using the same stars at different stations, differences of latitude are accurately known; but for absolute latitudes other means must combine with the zenith telescope. Mr. Bache uses the Greenwich standard stars, whose places are known, as reference-points for the small stars which are observed with the zenith telescope, and measures their zenith distances by means of the zenith sector. The zenith sector consists of a telescope attached to a vertical iron plane, which carries at each extremity a graduated arc, whose divisions are read by microscopes. It is supposed to be placed exactly vertical, and to be in the meridian of the place of observation. The error of collimation is destroyed by turning the whole upon a vertical axis, so that the observations are made alternately with the face of the instrument to the east and to the west. Having the approximate zenith distance, the observer sets the telescope first, for the second observation, and places a stop upon the arc; he then sets for the first observation. He then reads the brass arc, the microscopic divisions, and the levels attached to the back of the instrument. As the star comes into the field, he bisects it by means of a position micrometer, attached to the eye-piece of the telescope, and calls for the time as it approaches the first of three horizontal wires. He then loosens the clamp, turns the instrument, passes the telescope to the stop, and with the tangent screw brings the wire of the micrometer again to bisect the star. The microscopes and levels are again read; the difference of the two readings gives double the zenith distance of the star. The position of these stars in declination is then known, and, as the observations are made at meridian passage, the places in right ascension; more accurately, if the observations with the transit instrument accompany those of the zenith instrument. As the survey moves over the extent of the coast, other stars become zenith stars, and to a certain limit a catalogue is formed, which, though incomplete, is accurate, and furnishes reference-points which will be valuable in all coming time.

The zenith telescope with its observer and assistant, the zenith sector with the same, or perhaps more persons, and the transit instrument, are frequently in use at the same time in the observatory of a surveying party. One who sees from a distance the tents of the party, like a snow-cap upon the mountain-top, has little idea of the active life led by the community which there for a time finds its sphere of usefulness. From before sunset of a fine day till early morning of the next, the observatory presents a scene of cheerful activity. The observer at the zenith telescope adjusts his instrument in altitude, sees that the clamp in azimuth is properly placed, and waits for notice of the time from his assistant, who sits at the chronometer. The conversation of the observatory is almost as laconic as that of the chess-board. The assistant, as the time of culmination approaches, calls out the steps of the stars coming, first in minutes, then in half-minutes, when he perhaps hears the reply, "In the field," then every ten seconds, then every second. The observer, with his eye steadily upon the star, keeps it bisected with the movable wire, and when his assistant calls "Time," he reads in reply the number of revolutions and parts of a revolution of the micrometer-head during the observation, and the standing of the level. At the zenith sector and the transit instrument similar operations and similar dialogues are carried on at the same time, each party too intent upon its own work to be disturbed by the presence of the others.

The tedium of astronomical routine observations is not so great as is generally supposed. Those who have looked with interest upon the repetitions of Foucault's pendulum experiment can understand the interest of the observer who sees the earth's motion upon its axis made manifest in the steady apparent motion of the star across the field of his instrument. An interested observer, too, may always combine other observations with those absolutely necessary to his work. The number of variable stars is probably very great, and some of these may come among the stars which he is observing; if his instrument has proper measuring apparatus, he may make some observations upon the double stars; or if he does not aspire to these patience-taxing subjects, he may avail himself of a leisure half-hour, while he awaits the coming

of a star, to examine the adjustments of the instrument, and study its mechanism.

Meteorological and magnetic observations are made in connection with the observations of the astronomical stations. The former are observations of temperature, barometrical elevations, clouds, &c.; the application of some of these is necessary in correcting the astronomical observations. In themselves, they are too isolated to be of much value, except, perhaps, in tracing the path of a storm which takes an encampment in its way. The magnetic observations are necessary for the charts, and they are made on dip, intensity, and declination. The detection of local attraction by the large variation of the needle at small distances, as in harbors, is in some cases very interesting.

The secondary triangulation is made up of the small triangles which connect together the prominent points of the coast. The observations are made with instruments of less accuracy than those used in the primary triangulation, and the sides of the triangles extending to meet the points of the primary triangles depend upon them for starting-points of latitude and longitude, and for the accuracy of their work. Thus, the secondary triangles of Buzzard's Bay are connected with the astronomical stations of Cuttyunk and Indian Hill; those of Cape Cod with those of Manomet and Shootflying. The vertices of these small triangles are thrown upon spires, or signals placed in elevated positions; they serve in their turn as bases for the topography.

The topography presents a picture of the strip of land lying near the coast, as it appears to the eye. In the Coast Survey it is made as minute as the means afforded will allow; it represents the character of the soil, of its cultivated and uncultivated portions, and the artificial structures, towns, cities, and villages, thus giving to the navigator another means of knowing his place, and of judging of its suitability to his needs.

Resting upon all these previously determined points are the triangles of the hydrographic parties. In the survey of harbors, bays, and rivers, boats are placed in positions determined by what is called the "three-point problem"; that is, by measuring from the boat angles to three points which form a triangle, the sides and angles

of which have been previously determined. On the sea-coast, observers are stationed on tripods placed upon elevations, with theodolites. Each observer, at a signal from a vessel placed at a proper distance, observes the angle between the other observer and the vessel, and the work is checked by an angle measured from the vessel between the two observers. Where the survey is carried far from shore, in consequence of the supposed existence of shoals, two vessels assume the position of intermediate stations between the land and the principal vessel; their position in relation to points on the land is ascertained, and then the position of the principal vessel from them. By altering the positions of the two assisting vessels, a series of triangles can be maintained. The hydrographic work of the Coast Survey is best appreciated; its good results are immediate, and come home to the feelings of the great multitude who have interest upon the seas.

The discovery of shoals before unknown, of peculiarities in the configuration of those known, and of new channels, furnishes a topography beneath the water as accurate and as important as that of the upper lands. Among the most interesting investigations of this part of the work is that of the Gulf Stream, commenced by Lieutenant Davis, now Superintendent of the Nautical Almanac, and continued by Lieutenant Bache, the brother of the superintendent, who perished while engaged in the work. One of the results of this investigation was the discovery of what seems to be a wall of cold water suddenly dividing the mass of warm. The dangerous shoals off Nantucket have been a fruitful field to the hydrographic parties; the observations made by Lieutenant Davis and continued by Lieutenant McBlair make known the existence of large and dangerous shoals lying directly in the path of navigation, in some cases quite unsuspected. Lieutenant Davis sought to determine the primitive formation of these shoals, and the result of his speculations was presented to the American Academy, in an interesting and valuable memoir.

The soundings of the hydrographic parties are valuable also to the naturalist, if, as is generally supposed, the waters teem more with life than the land. The specimens are found to vary with the depth of the water;

their consideration and scientific classification are the subject of some of the most interesting papers of the meetings of the American scientific associations.

The observations of the tides constitute another accompaniment of this part of the work; they have revealed some local phenomena, and promise much of general interest.

Following the primary, secondary, and tertiary triangles, the astronomical, topographical, and hydrographical observations are the work of the office at Washington. To a certain degree, the computing of the field-work must go on with it; the observer must compute enough to know that he is working in the right way; but the computing always falls behind the observing. Computers who are not observers are also preferred, as they check the work of the field. Mr. Bache applies to the observations the "calculus of probabilities," in order to ascertain the degree of weight which may be attached to an observation. The "office-work" includes also the drawing, engraving, electrotyping, publishing, printing, and instrument-making; it is a wide field, upon which our limits will not allow us to enter.

The persons employed in the survey are navy and army officers, so far as they can be detailed for the work, and civilians. The navy and army officers are frequently ordered upon other duties, the civilians change voluntarily their vocation, which makes a continual changing of persons intrusted with portions of the work. This must be injurious to the interests of the survey; but as there seems to be in all unavoidable evil a compensating system of good kept up, there arises from this a benefit which accrues to the new-comers to the work. Mr. Bache says, in his Report of 1850: "During the season several of the young *employés* of the Coast Survey were engaged in my camp, and under my immediate direction, in computations of tidal and other observations, and in learning to make the various observations which were in progress." The training of the survey is rigidly exact, and those who, like the above-mentioned *employés*, come under Mr. Bache's immediate instruction, bear grateful testimony to the patience with which he listens to their difficulties, and to the willing ability with which he throws light upon the dark places.

With but a slight interval, the operations of the Coast Survey extend now on the eastern coast from Cape Small in Maine to Texas, and parties are already at work upon the western. We have attempted to trace it in its scientific relations; they are so various, so interwoven and connected, as yet in some respects so unfinished and casting "their shadows before," that we have felt it to be no slight task. At the present stage of the work, it has commanded the admiration of European science, and the generous praise bestowed upon it by Schumacher, Arago, and Humboldt is gratifying to our national pride. Mr. Bache, clear-sighted to the interests of the survey, places the questions which arise in the hands of those best suited to grasp them; and the numerous papers presented at the meetings of our scientific associations, published in the Astronomical Journal, in Silliman's Journal, in the Memoirs of the American Academy, and those of the Philosophical Society of Philadelphia, by officers of the survey, are among its consequences, and valuable to the country. Who shall measure that far-reaching result, the intellectual and moral good which a government confers upon its people, when it awakens an interest in questions of science? M. M.

Art. VI — INDIAN TRIBES OF NEW ENGLAND.*

The brief statements of the Reports named below enable us to grasp, as it were, the whole history of the Indians of America, for two centuries, in a single thought. The remark, that they are rapidly disappearing from our midst, and that they will soon become utterly extinct, is so common, and so trite, as often to fall upon the ear without exciting feeling or sympathy.

But when we read, in the Reports before us, that the Society's missions in this Commonwealth are now limited to "the Indians of Herring Pond, together with a few

* *Annual Reports of the Select Committee of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America.* Presented November 7th, 1850, and November 6th, 1851. Boston: John Wilson and Son.

scattered families of the Marshpee tribe," which do not exceed "a hundred individuals in number," reflections as to the past cannot but arise, and become painful, to those who ponder upon the fate of this doomed race of our fellow-men.

The "temporal and spiritual welfare" of these unhappy people "was a primary object with the founders of our Society, and for whose benefit somewhat more than a fifth part of its present resources was originally bestowed," says the Report for 1850; and it continues: —

"If we consider their present condition and numbers, as seen within New England and the western region of New York, and contrast them with what they were at the beginning of the Society, a little more than sixty years since, or even as they stood within the recollections of the elders among us, it will at once appear how rapid has been their tendency to diminution, and to insensible mingling with either the white or the African race. Instead of the considerable numbers then found among the Indians of the Passamaquoddy and Stockbridge tribes, at the opposite extremes of what was then embraced within the boundaries of Massachusetts: among those of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Narraganset, with them of Marshpee and Herring Pond, — all of whom were under the special care of the Society, to whom missionaries were annually sent, and for whose children schools were regularly sustained, — none now remain as the objects of our care" [except those mentioned in our opening extract].

The Passamaquoddys, here alluded to as no longer enjoying the benefits of the Society's missions and schools, are a people among whom we long mingled, and of whom we retain some pleasant, but many sad recollections. In the hope that our acquaintance with them affords matter not wholly destitute of general interest, we propose to devote this article to a notice of them; and without further reference to the Reports, we enter at once upon that duty.

Of the numerous tribes of Indians that roamed the territory of Maine, the Penobscots and the Passamaquoddys alone remain; and these two, small and feeble as they are, comprise, we suppose, quite one half of the entire Indian population of New England.

Our plan embraces some account of both; but our remarks at this time will be confined principally to the latter. Every thing connected with the early history of

the Passamaquoddys is vague and uncertain. They are not even mentioned by their present name, nor as a distinct tribe, by any of the first voyagers to the coast of Maine, and their existence seems to have been unknown to the first annalists of New England. Smith, the father of Virginia, who came to our waters in 1614, enumerates eleven native tribes, and says that the Penobscots "were the chief and greatest among them." Josselyn, whose second voyage was performed in 1663, supposed, like Smith, that there were no Indians east of the "*Tarratines*," or Penobscots. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the original proprietor and lord palatine of Maine, in his "Description of New England," published in 1658, speaks of the natives in the "east and northeast" as the "*Tarentines*." Hubbard notices the "Tarratines," or eastern-men, but not the Passamaquoddys; while Gookin, who completed his "Historical Collections of the Indians in New England" in 1674, does not so much as allude to them. Later writers are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The pages of Prince, Hutchinson, Belknap, Sullivan, Williamson, and Bancroft, as relates to the Passamaquoddys, considered as a distinct tribe, contain little to show either their numbers, their geographical position, or their course in the wars which desolated the country, from the time of King Philip down to the death of the last Jesuit missionary in Maine, and the extinction of the Norridgewocks. In the absence of positive and accurate information, we might amuse our readers with conjectures, — as some others have done, — but we prefer to speak of their present condition, and of what we have personally heard and seen among them, while our home was in their immediate neighborhood.

And first, as to the lands of the Passamaquoddys. Towards the close of the last century, in a treaty with Massachusetts, they relinquished their interest, claim, and demand in and to all lands in Maine, except the following, which were confirmed to them for ever; namely, all the islands in the River St. Croix between the falls at the head of the tide and the falls below the forks of the north and west branches, fifteen in number, and containing about one hundred acres; township number two in the first range of surveys on the St. Croix, nearly twenty-three thousand acres; Lire's Island, lying in front

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of that township, about ten acres; one hundred acres of land on Nemcass Point and adjoining that township on the west side; Pine Island, on the west of Nemcass Point, one hundred and fifty acres; and ten acres of land on Passamaquoddy Bay, at a place called Pleasant Point. The Commonwealth confirmed to them also the right of free fishing in both branches of the St. Croix, and the privilege of passing up and down that river, and over its different *carrying-places*, as well as the right of "sitting down"* on fifty acres of land at the *carrying-place* between the Bay of West Quoddy and the Bay of Fundy.

After this treaty was confirmed, they fixed their abode at Pleasant Point, about six miles from Eastport, where they built a village and a church, and where they still live a considerable part of the year. The site was originally far too small for their wants, but the Commonwealth in a few years set apart ninety acres of land in addition to the ten above mentioned, which, with a wood-lot of two hundred acres granted to them by Maine at a subsequent period, afford them ample accommodations. They roam the surrounding country, and parties camp on their lands up the St. Croix, and on the lands of others; but the Point is to be regarded as their home. It bears an appropriate name, and is within the grant obtained by Sir Francis Bernard while governor of Massachusetts. At the close of the Revolution, his son John attempted to clear up the Point and make a farm. The fortunes of the young man were at the lowest ebb; his father, driven to England, a victim to the controversy which he provoked, was now dead; his brothers were ruined and in exile; and the misfortunes of his family had saddened, perhaps deranged, his mind. He built a small hut with his own hands, and cut down a few trees; his only companion, a dog. He became discouraged and removed to Boston, but finally abandoned America. Late in life, the unhappy exile at Pleasant Point was prosperous, and, as Sir John Bernard, Baronet, held valuable offices under the British crown.

The number of the Passamaquoddys, when they were first seen by the French, is uncertain. If we consider them as one of the *Etchemin* tribes, as some do, we may

* Indian expression for temporary abode or sojourn.

conjecture that, in the early part of the seventeenth century, they numbered quite fourteen hundred. But whatever their strength in ancient times, war, disease, and the white man's fire-water had made fearful havoc among them at the period of the extinction of their brethren on the Kennebec and of their acknowledgment of fealty to the crown of England. Sir Francis Bernard, who probably was well informed, estimates the number of their warriors in 1764 at only *thirty*. Yet there must have been an increase subsequently, since it is known that, while the tribe was divided into Whigs and Tories during the Revolutionary controversy and war, some forty or fifty actually bore arms on the Whig side. Sullivan, in his brief account of the Penobscots, in 1804, estimates the Passamaquoddys at about one hundred and thirty. Different accurate enumerations since the last-named year show continued growth. Thus a census in 1820 gave their exact number as three hundred and seventy-nine; and a second, taken at the request of the writer, in December, 1848, showed, of men, women, and children, a total of four hundred and five. These facts are not destitute of interest. Disappearing as the red man is, from all America, he is still destined to linger on the frontiers of Maine for a century or two to come.

We have seen that they possess considerable property in lands, but their condition is far from being comfortable. Fifty years ago they were much poorer than at present. At that time their summer residence was on the easterly side of Passamaquoddy Bay, and in New Brunswick, where they led a beggarly life, feeding on clams and other shell-fish, and enduring the most severe distresses and deprivations. The government of Massachusetts made but little provision for their relief. Nor was it until the year 1831 that the legislature of Maine gave them an annual stipend for the purchase of food, under the direction of an agent of the State. The fund devoted to their use is derived from the sale of timber on their lands, and is inconsiderable. During the late mania for pine-lands, a resolve was passed to make sale of the township on the St. Croix, at a price not less than two dollars the acre. Much to the regret of many who feel a deep interest in their welfare, the resolve was repealed. A sale of this land would have produced up-

wards of forty thousand dollars, which, invested by the State, as in the case of the Penobscots, who have a fund of more than sixty thousand dollars, derived from the sale of *their* lands, would have yielded an income sufficient to relieve their most pressing wants. The poor are, however, cared for by a resolve of the year 1840; and the females and children of the tribe are gladdened with an occasional appropriation for the purchase of articles of clothing.

A delegation has commonly been sent to the seat of government as often as once in a year. Before the separation of Maine from Massachusetts, however, these visits were less frequent than at present. We speak from personal experience when we say that a deputation of Indian chiefs teasing, following, and dogging a member of a legislative body is one of the greatest possible annoyances to which one's nerves and temper can be subjected. There is always some professed object in view, some grievance to be redressed by, or favor to be obtained of, the governor or legislature; but the *real* motive is, probably, sufficiently indicated in the account given by one of the seven chiefs who went to Boston while the amiable Brooks occupied the executive chair of this Commonwealth. This chief, on being asked, after his return, whether he had accomplished what he desired, answered literally in these words: "O, sartin! Very good man that Gubbenur Brook. O, strange! Great good men set down Boston; they give 'em great many presents. Great deal me like 'em Boston folks. They show 'em theatre,— museum. O, strange! Great many things me see 'em. Me go to church; show me how bury 'em dead,— not quite. Me ride in coach to see Gubbenur Brook. Great deal me like 'em that gubbenur. Great deal me want to walk* Boston again next spring. O, sartin, brother!"

The first delegation to Governor King was in 1821, while the seat of government was at Portland. It consisted of four; and the account of their visit contains few terms of rapturous praise of men or things. Six years later, one of the same chiefs went again to the capital of Maine, and returned in a steamer. His story of his

* *Walk*, Indian phrase for *to go*.

"walk in steamboat" is sufficiently amusing, but we have no room for it. A sum of money to pay the expenses of these deputations is always appropriated by the legislature; and as they *will* remain until "paid off," we cannot do a better service than to advise the luckless member on whom they fasten to introduce his "Resolve" at the earliest possible moment, and, by a "suspension of the rules" in both branches, hurry it through the forms of legislation, or, failing in this, to advance the amount from his private purse.

The first voyagers to America seem to have believed that the Indian form of government was strictly monarchical. But whatever was the theory, there is certain evidence that the succession was not invariably confined to persons of the chief sachem's lineage. As relates to the Passamaquoddys, they, as well as the kindred tribes on the Penobscot and St. John, have claimed and exercised the right to *elect* their sachems, though, according to tradition, their choice has seldom departed widely from the monarchical rule.

The ceremonies at the induction of a new sachem into office occupy several hours. The Indians, male and female, appear in their best attire. The principal men generally wear coats of scarlet cloth, and are decked with silver brooches, collars, and arm-clasps. Their clergyman, a Catholic missionary, is present in full canonicals. The males enter the great wigwam, or council-house, in procession, and according to rank, and seat themselves. The white spectators of the same sex are then permitted to follow, but the ladies are kept without; for, "*Sartin, brother,*" says the ungallant Indian marshal of the day, "*never our squaws nor yours sit with us in our council.*" Silence and order secured, the chief sachem of a kindred tribe, of whom one or more is always invited, makes a speech particularly addressed to the new sachem, and concludes with laying at his feet a wampum-belt. The same friendly sachem, or another, if two be present, makes a second address, after some unimportant ceremonies, and closes with placing a medal on his neck. Meantime, outside of the great wigwam, the progress of matters within is announced from time to time by the firing of a small cannon, and by the hoisting and lowering of a flag from the flag-staff. The *forms* of induction

completed, the priest reads from the Scriptures in Latin, expounds passages of holy writ in the Indian tongue, and performs other religious services. These ended, he places himself at the head of those in the council-house, when all move slowly into the open air, and, forming a sort of circle, sing for several minutes. The priest then departs. The council-house is again filled with Indians and spectators, and the shaking of hands and congratulations are general throughout the assembly. The whites now withdraw. The female Indians, dressed for the occasion, and adorned with brooches, bracelets, and feathers, enter for the first time, and the whole join in a dance, accompanied by vocal music and a drum. The dance finished, the females retire, the males resume their seats, and the whites reënter. Some of the inferior sachems now sing, one at a time, all the other Indians *grunting* in chorus, or uttering a sound not dissimilar to a hiccup. A feast follows, and dances, and wild, rough sports in the evening conclude the performances.

In 1836, two years after the decease of Francis Joseph Neptune, his son, John Francis, was elected his successor, and is the present chief sachem of the tribe. Sachem John has had an unquiet reign. Sabatis Neptune, with a strong party, has opposed him almost from the first; and in 1844, Newell Neptune, the sachem next in rank, was elected to displace him. Sixty-eight votes were cast, and the choice of Newell was unanimous. This was the result of an open rupture which occurred two years previously, on the 4th of July, when the flag-staff was cut down and burned, and several Indians were injured in a fight. We have before us Sachem John's account of the affair, and the counter-statement of his arch-foe and evil genius, Sabatis Neptune, but have space for neither. The opening sentence in each will serve to show the temper in which the quarrel was conducted. "Brothers," says Sachem John, "be it known, that Sabatis Neptune, of the Passamaquoddy tribe, has been, and now is, a very troublesome Indian." "Brothers," rejoins Sabatis, "what John Francis tell is lie." Among the accusations against Sabatis was one which apparently wounded him deeply, namely, that he was under allegiance to Queen Victoria. His objects, as avowed by himself, were two; first, to displace Francis, whom he hated, and second, to intro-

duce and establish the custom of an annual election of chief sachem. As he is of the lineage of the royal family of the Penobscots, and is proud of his birth, those who know him well possess but little faith in his "democracy."

Empty as is the supreme authority, there were two claimants for it, as we have seen, and for several years. In August, 1848, the quarrel was adjusted, and Francis was declared to be the only true and lawful chief sachem. As in all cases of difficulty, the Penobscots and St. Johns were consulted, and delegations from both tribes came to Pleasant Point to assist in the reconciliation which was there effected. A formal treaty was concluded, which bears the signatures, or signs, of the principal men of the three nations. Among the Penobscots who attended was a fine-looking chief, of the age of twenty-seven years, named Sawkis, who recited to the writer his entire speech in council. After it was written, he corrected it, word for word, as it was read to him. It is quite too long for insertion here; its close is as follows: "Great Spirit, two hundred years ago, melt Indians' hearts, like snow put in fire. French come to Quebec and tell Indians who made this world, and trees, and every body. Indians knew there must be great man somewhere, but did not see where he lived. French tell Indians all about him, and give them Roman Catholic religion. Indians live happy ever since."

Sawkis related that his speech was without effect. Turning to the Penobscot delegates, he said: "Brothers, they will not hear. I tell you this business must end. The bullies must fight. Search 'em every man, so that no Indian have knife when he fight." This plan was adopted. Five champions for each party were selected to determine the controversy. Their friends respectively, with flags hoisted, drew round to witness the strife. The combat lasted about fifteen minutes. The champions on the side of Sachem Francis had been instructed in boxing by a white teacher while on a visit to the Penobscots, and were victorious. Two of Sabatis's men were much hurt.* At the close of the contest, proclamation was

* The writer was not present, as he intended to be, at the settlement of this quarrel. In a conversation with the Catholic clergyman of Eastport on the subject, that gentleman remarked that Sawkis's account of the fight, as here related, is somewhat exaggerated.

made that John Francis should be governor, and that the honor should descend in his family. The Sabatis party, pointing upward, attested their assent, by saying, "*I tell truth, by our Saviour.*" The tale may well excite a smile. Yet the warfare of years between these two rival factions, to obtain the nominal rule and government of four hundred and five wretched beggars, is not wholly unlike some of the quarrels among ourselves.

In 1838 there was a similar difficulty among the Penobscots. There, as in his own tribe, Sabatis was the master spirit of one of the parties. His influence and his speech in council were sufficient to depose the governor and the lieutenant-governor, who had been in office many years. But though others were elected in their places, they steadily refused to consider themselves ejected, and, sustained by a strong party, they gradually recovered their influence, and are now regarded as the chiefs of the tribe. Thus the principle, that sachems once invested with the insignia hold office for life, seems to be fully established in both tribes.

Our readers may be curious to ascertain something of an Indian governor's dignity and authority. We regret, after the most diligent inquiry, that we cannot inform them. The fishermen have a saying, that a "skipper" among them differs from a common hand because he *is called* "Skipper," and has the privilege of sculling the punt, or boat, from their vessel to the shore on Sunday; and so it is possible that a chief sachem differs from other savages because *he* is addressed as "*Gubbenur*," and wears a wampum-belt and one or more silver medals.

The language of the Passamaquoddys is a topic which claims our attention; but it must be discussed with brevity. The late Governor Lincoln of Maine, who was much interested in the subject, was of the opinion that *all* the natives within the limits of that State "could understand each other without an interpreter." We now observe a difference between the Penobscots and Passamaquoddys, but it is hardly greater than is to be found in the English language, as spoken in the various States of the Union; hence we may conclude that, originally, the words of variation were much fewer than at present. It is certain, at all events, that the Passamaquoddys, the Penobscots, and the St. Johns converse together with

perfect ease. The names of persons in these three tribes are very similar. Thus Sockbason, Neptune, Tomer, Francis, Aitteon, and many others, are common in all.

The long words which are found in the Indian languages seem to render pronunciation impossible; and no wonder that Cotton Mather is said to have thought they must have been growing ever since the confusion of tongues at Babel. The learned author of the Life of Eliot, in Sparks's "American Biography," relates that that divine once put some demons upon their skill in the tongues, and found that they could manage to understand Latin, Greek, and Hebrew very well, but were baffled by the speech of the Indians. He was not so extravagant as may be supposed. When Eliot translated *kneeling*, the word he was compelled to use fills a line, and numbers eleven syllables.

The dialect of the Passamaquoddys is hardly better. To speak the word *evil*, we are required to pronounce *sik-im-ag-ail-mo-qua*. Nine, in numerals, is *os-quen-an-dake*. Flower is *pos-quos-wa-sek*. People is *pam-a-os-e-wer*. Seed is *as-gan-ny-me-nal*. Grass is *mes-kig-o-wail*. Some words, on the other hand, are very short; thus, two is *nes;* five is *nane;* bread is *apan;* child is *warsis;* fire is *skut;* moon is *kisos;* snow is *warst*.

In repeating the Lord's Prayer, an Indian of Maine can express all the *ideas* which it embraces, but not in the terms used by us. Instead of the sentiment, "Forgive those who trespass against us," for example, he would say, "We pardon all wrong-doers," and employ these two long words, namely, *num-e-se-comela-ent* and *tah-hah-lä-we-u-keap-ma-che-ke-cheek*.

The names of several places are corruptions. Passamaquoddy signifies *the place where catch 'em great many pollock-fish*, and should be spelled *Pas-co-dum-o-quen-keag*. The Schodoc, the present St. Croix, was originally *skodak*, or *burnt land;* Penobscot was *Penobs-keag*, the *place of rocks;* Openango, one of the *fancy* names of the Passamaquoddys, was *O-pe-nud-y-o*, which has the same meaning as "little sable very cunning."

Though the Indian manner of speaking English has already incidentally appeared, we may still add one or two additional illustrations. The word "sartin" (certain) is very emphatic, and, as sometimes pronounced

in anger, will cause the white man to look about him. "'Spose" (suppose) is not used hypothetically, but as a direct affirmative. The pronoun "me" is almost invariably employed instead of the nominative "I." In relating a transaction of the past, one, two, three, or four fingers held up indicates the exact number of years, months, or days that have transpired; while, if the time of the event cannot be computed in this way, the remark is, "O, me 'spose great while ago."

Of the order observed in the placing of words, two amusing examples occur to us. Thus, a hunter, in boasting of the great success of his father in trapping musquash, said, "Five hundred musquash he kill 'em my father." "Ah," responded a white, to tease him, "your father dead, then." "Nah" (no), tartly rejoined the Indian, "musquash, *he* dead."

In the other case, a delegation of two chiefs to the seat of government disputed their tavern bill, and, with the landlord, came to the writer, to effect an adjustment. Mine host, having told his story, and among other things said that the Indians were enormous eaters, and had consumed a whole turkey at a sitting, one of them angrily answered, "'Spose lie,—turkey he eat 'em four white man fuss";—meaning that this number of the landlord's other guests had made their meal before them, and that they, as was probably the fact, had feasted only on what these had left.

In religion, the Passamaquoddys are Catholics. If, as we are inclined to believe, from the evidence we have examined, they are to be considered as a branch of the Penobscots, then they were the earliest converts to the Jesuits in the United States east of the Mississippi. It was the boast of the French at the close of the seventeenth century, that they had established a line of communication between Maine and the Gulf of Mexico, and that they claimed possession of the country from one extremity to the other, because the Jesuits had carved lilies on the trees, and erected crosses on the high banks of the streams, as emblems of their rights and proofs of their occupation. The country between the Penobscot and the St. Croix was their first mission-ground. There, before the settlement of Plymouth, a mission was broken up, and a Catholic father was murdered, by Episcopal

voyagers from Virginia. But instead of abandoning the natives, new missions were established, and were maintained without intermission until the death of Rasle, or for more than a century.

Of the missionaries of a recent day, the late Cardinal Cheverus claims our first and most respectful notice. The last person ordained in Paris previous to the French Revolution, — a refugee in England, — he came to America with the certain knowledge that, for a part of the time at least, he was to labor among the Passamaquoddys and Penobscots. Some aged Indians of the former tribe still remember his instructions, and have repeated to the writer fragments of his discourses. His sufferings frequently were extreme; and these, he used to remark, were his only compensation. He learned the Indian tongue of a squaw. Dividing his time, when in Maine, between the two tribes, he devoted himself incessantly to the pulpit, to catechizing, the confessional, baptizing, and to visiting the sick and infirm. At his coming, the mission had been vacant for a considerable period; but he found that the teachings of the Jesuits were not entirely forgotten, and that the Indians retained some knowledge of the catechism. He promised to visit them every year, and faithfully kept his word, until he was consecrated as Bishop of Boston, when the cares of his diocese required him to terminate his labors in Maine.

His successor was the Rev. James R. Romaigne, who was also a native of France, and who was a most worthy gentleman. He lived with the two tribes, almost without interruption, for about twenty years. He instructed them and conversed with them in their own tongue, and his ministry was attended with beneficial results. His example in every respect was good. He endeavored not only to improve their morals, but to induce habits of industry and prudent forecast for the future. He visited Eastport often, and when there was commonly the guest of a Baptist. The inhabitants of that town retain a happy recollection of him. He returned to France some thirty years ago.

The successor of Romaigne was a Protestant. While the post was vacant, the Rev. Elijah Kellogg was employed by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel for several years. His labors were confined exclusively

to the Passamaquoddys. No man could have been more devoted and assiduous; but he was not successful. The Indians were fixed in the Catholic faith, and missed the pomp and show of their old form of worship. He opened a school for the instruction of the children in reading and writing; but the first trial of discipline dissolved it, and scattered the Indian boys and girls to the four winds. In 1827 the Catholics resumed the mission, and still hold it. In the course of that year the late Bishop Fenwick of Boston paid the Indians a visit. Dressed in their richest costume, they met him at Eastport, and escorted him to their village at Pleasant Point, and throughout the day saluted him with cannon and small-arms. While at the Point, he administered the sacrament of confirmation to several, and performed other rites of the Roman Church; and before his departure for Boston, he preached in the Unitarian meeting-house at Eastport to a crowded assembly of Protestants, and red men of his own faith.

Another Catholic missionary to the Passamaquoddys, and the last who *lived* with them, was the Rev. Edmund Louis Demillie, whose labors were continued without intermission for nine years. He was born in Paris, and was educated by an uncle who held office under Charles the Tenth. He was a good scholar and a faithful minister. When he entered upon his duties, he could neither speak English nor the language of his people. But he acquired a very good knowledge of both, and published a prayer-book and an elementary work of instruction in the Indian tongue.

During his ministry he was often without food, except that, at the going down of the tide, he appeased his hunger by procuring clams from the beaches near his house. The Protestants in the neighboring towns admired his character, and, had his deprivations been known at the time, relief would have been prompt and abundant. He seems to have felt that it was his duty to suffer, and to suffer in silence. Severe professional toil, and the want of proper and regular aliment, impaired his health, and probably shortened his life. He fell into a decline, and, wasting away in consumption, died at Eastport in July, 1843. His remains were conveyed to the Indian village, where they now repose.

The Catholic clergymen of Eastport consider the Passamaquoddys as under their spiritual care, in the absence of a resident pastor, and occasionally officiate among them. Of these, we recall the names of Barber, Hutten Walsh, French, Healey, John Walsh, Kernan, McMahan, Carrahar, and Boyce.

The chapel now occupied at Pleasant Point was completed in 1835. It was built from the proceeds of timber cut on the Indian township, and is neat and suitable. In 1845, a second chapel was erected on the lands at the forks of the St. Croix. Burial-grounds are attached to both. There is also a parsonage at each place. The State allows a small sum * annually for the support of a missionary, but it is wholly inadequate, and may as well be withdrawn. That they require a clergyman to reside among, and be of them, none who know any thing of the Indian character will deny. To say nothing of spiritual culture, no other person can so well correct their habits of improvidence and wastefulness, so well restrain their love of strong drink, so well hush the contentions and regulate the labor of the few who can be driven to hunt or fish, by threats or persuasions.

The Indians at Pleasant Point, without an exception, live in frame-houses; but for several years Sockbasen's frame-dwelling, the old chapel, and the building occupied by the priest were all of this description in the village. The wigwam was a frail and unsightly structure, but it may be doubted whether the change is for the better. Their old abodes were comparatively comfortable in winter, inasmuch as the snow which accumulated from time to time excluded all the cold air near the ground; but the dwellings constructed in rude imitation of ours are without cellars, and crevices and open joints are numerous from top to bottom.

The Passamaquoddys are one of the few American tribes that live on the sea-shore. Their habits and means of support differ, therefore, in some respects, from those of the natives of the interior. The males hunt, and the females manufacture baskets and fancy boxes, as elsewhere; but the making of herring-sticks and birch-bark torches for the herring-catchers, and the shooting of por-

* In 1848 it was one hundred dollars.

poises in the waters of the bay, are among their most important employments. They manage their frail bark-canoes with surpassing skill, and not only venture to sea, and cross from island to island ten or twelve miles apart, but make voyages along the shore for a hundred miles and more, seldom meeting with disaster.

They kill the porpoise for its oil, and were they industrious, this animal would richly reward them, and furnish them with most of the comforts of life. As things are, adventures for it are seldom undertaken, except at times of pressing want, and in the waters adjacent to the Point.

They cannot be induced to cultivate the soil. In 1833 the legislature of Maine made an appropriation of money for the purpose of encouraging agriculture among them, and a degree of success attended the measure, succeeded, as it was, by others having the same benevolent design. Bounties on several kinds of farm produce stimulated them for a few years, but neither public aid nor the counsel and advice of friends could induce them to persevere and rely upon the soil for support. In 1846, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars was appropriated from the sales of timber cut upon their lands, to erect a mill for the manufacture of boards, clapboards, and shingles, for their use. To add now, that, by the statutes of Maine, all persons are forbidden, under penalties, to sell or give them spirituous liquors, completes a rapid notice of the legislation in their behalf most worthy of attention.

Few of the Passamaquoddys can safely be allowed credit. The general remark of the merchants who deal with them is, that, without pledges of silver ornaments or other property, the debts which they contract are seldom paid. In a word, they are a miserable people. Lazy and filthy, without regular hours for food or rest, possessing an inordinate love of strong drink, improvident and wasteful, they are objects of pity. Patient and uncomplaining in suffering, taciturn and sedate, those of the frontier towns who mingle with them daily seldom hear a recital of their woes, even when they beg for cast-off garments or articles of food; but those who visit their village will go away with sad and heavy hearts. For the twenty-five years that we have known them, there has been no change for the better. Indeed, we think that we can see very considerable decline in their man-

ners and morals. These remarks are, however, to be considered as general, for there are some persons among them who are to be spoken of with entire respect.

We incline to believe, that, as a people, they would be far happier and more comfortable were they to abandon Pleasant Point, and to settle upon their lands on the upper waters of the St. Croix. But whether they remain or remove, the State is bound, in common humanity, to assume a more direct, active, and energetic guardianship over them. The experiment of attempting to reform their vagrant habits in matters of labor and its rewards, has been tried, has signally failed, and need not be repeated. Yet the government of Maine can make, and we venture to say ought to make, suitable, and even liberal, provision for the *permanent* residence among them of a Catholic clergyman who is willing to give his life to their service. Wedded fast to the faith and ceremonies of the Roman Church, they will heed the instructions and rebukes of no Protestant. They require a master who, while he commands, will still advise, and who, while he indulges, will hold them to a strict obedience. No measure for their relief in things *temporal* will succeed, if this be neglected. The ministry of a Cheverus or of a Romaigne cannot, indeed, be secured; but a priest as exemplary and as devoted as was Demillie would do much to reclaim them.

This general view of the *tribe* will suffice. We propose, in conclusion, to notice some of its individual members.

Though the Passamaquoddys, as we are led to conclude, appear in no treaty or other document as a distinct people prior to 1760, there is reason to believe, from their traditions, and especially from their connection with the French, that they participated in most of the wars from the period of King Philip down to the termination of the Jesuit missions. Whatever the number and prowess of their warriors, the names of but few have been preserved. Our own knowledge is limited to two, namely, Egeremet the elder, whose signature, or sign, stands first in the treaty with Sir William Phips at Pemaquid, in 1693, and who was soon after decoyed and murdered by an officer in the colonial service; and Egeremet the younger, who was a conspicuous actor in the

war which resulted in the extermination of the Norridgewocks.

The third chief sachem who deserves to be mentioned is Francis Joseph Neptune, who belonged to our own times. Like his friend Orono, chief of the Penobscots, he was a Whig in the war of the Revolution, and took the field with such of his warriors as espoused the popular side. When Sir George Collier, with a ship of forty guns and four smaller vessels, attacked Fort Gates, on the Machias, Governor Francis conducted the defence on one side of the river, and much of the success of the day was attributed to his good conduct. It would seem that stratagem was more effectual than force, since both the Indians and the whites raised, and kept up, a hideous yell, and induced the assailants to believe that the surrounding woods were full of wild savages. In the opinion of gentlemen entirely competent to judge, the adherence of the Penobscots and Passamaquoddys to the Whig cause saved to the United States a large and valuable tract of country; for, at the peace, the *possession* of the eastern moiety of Maine was held to give a title to it. It is of interest to remark, in this connection, that the late Albert Gallatin performed his first services to his adopted country at Fort Gates, and easterly to the frontier, and that, though but a youth of twenty, he exercised a wholesome and restraining influence over the Passamaquoddys, with whom, to rely on the traditions of the time, he freely mingled.

Governor Francis often boasted of his deeds in the Revolution. In the war of 1812, neither he nor his people took a part. After the capture of Eastport, attended by the head men of his tribe, he often visited the British officers in command, and was courteously treated. His visits were conducted with all the parade and show of finery that poverty would allow. Many of the officers had never seen an American savage, and Neptune and his retinue were objects of great curiosity.

The Governor was also a man of considerable intellect, and of a kind and placable disposition. He was generally respected. The last years of his life were rendered comfortable by a pension for his services in the war of the Revolution. He died in 1834, at the supposed age of ninety-nine years.

His son, John Francis, as has been remarked, is the present governor. When young, he was one of the most adventurous and successful hunters in the tribe. But he is now a broken, dejected, and imbecile man. His public troubles with Sabatis and his party, relative to the sachemship, of which we have spoken, together with his domestic trials, have reduced him to a mere wreck, and, without pride of station or pride of costume, he moves among his people, an empty shadow of kingly authority.

Deacon Sockbasen, as he was called, was a person of some talents, and for a while of great consideration. He built the first frame-house at the Point, and the legislature of Maine, upon his petition, allowed him to hold twenty acres of the land there for his individual use and cultivation. He was ambitious to be considered as a civilized man, and was vain of his conversational powers, of having learned to read and write, and of the attentions and presents bestowed by the several Presidents and heads of departments, whom he visited at Washington. For many years he was the principal adviser and man of business, and his opinion was decisive; but towards the close of his life he was extremely unpopular, and without influence. He was accused of apostasy from the Catholic faith; and his course in matters of religion gave countenance to the charge; but in his last sickness he returned to the bosom of the Church. He died at Pleasant Point, of consumption, in 1841, at the age of sixty.

Another Passamaquoddy of note was Joseph Stanislaus. In his own conceit, he was a personage of vast consequence, and officiously obtruded himself upon every body. He commonly introduced himself to strangers, though he could neither read nor write, as "Captain Joseph Stanislaus, Secretary, Esquire"; and in the tribe assumed to be the lawyer and doctor. In the latter capacity, he seemed to think that he had no equal. As physicians of a whiter skin sometimes do, Doctor Jo called his rivals quacks and impostors. At his dictation, the following notice was written and published in a newspaper: —

"Me tell every bodies, that Capt. Lewey, Penobscot Indian no doctor. Sartin, too, me speak that, Mary-han,

Passamaquoddy squaw, *he** no stammany † doctoring neither. They kill 'em all sick-folks, — every bodies hear 'em me speak this."

The Passamaquodys are not insensible to the loss of their lands, as the following incident will show. A friend,‡ who owns a large tract of forest in the vicinity of Pleasant Point, while on a visit to his property, met Stanislaus, with a party of Indians, coming from the woods, heavily laden with packs of birch-bark, which they had stripped, as he supposed, from his trees, to sell to the herring-catchers for torch-lights, and rebuked them sharply for the theft. Stanislaus manifested great emotion while the gentleman was speaking, and, as he concluded, slipped his pack from his back, advanced towards him, and, in intense excitement, thus spoke: "Shadbun no make 'em trees, Shadbun no make 'em land; *God* make 'em trees, — land. *Indians* no steal 'em bark. Indians' land, Indians' trees, Indians' bark, Indians' water, great while ago. *God* give 'em to Indians. *White man* come, Shadbun, — *he* steal 'em Indians' land, and *every* ting."

Jo was an uncompromising opponent of the Protestant missionary to whom we have referred, and used every art and subtlety to displace him. His air was commanding; and, stout and athletic, and possessed of a vigorous mind and insinuating address, he was a model savage. His decease occurred within a few years.

To mention Jo Beetle, and his squaw, "Mrs. Sally Jo Beetle," is to recall persons who were universally known on the frontier of Maine, and of whom all classes and ages had something pleasant to relate. *Mr.* Jo was sure to be drunk in an hour after his arrival in town, but, drunk or sober, nobody feared him day or night. A better-natured Indian has never lived; and he was so comical in his cups, that the gravest smiled at his pranks and sayings. No Frenchman could lift a hat to pay his respects more gracefully, gesticulate more naturally, or pronounce the word "*Sir*" with more emphatic meaning. Shrewd, polite, and witty, he was a favorite with men, women, and children, everywhere. Among the

* The Indians always use the masculine gender,
† *Stammany* means *understand*.
‡ Ichabod R. Chadbourne, Esq., of Eastport.

many anecdotes of Jo we select one. Though generally honest, his appetite for liquor once got the mastery, and he stole an axe to procure the means to gratify it. A person to whom he offered to sell the axe refused to buy, remarking that it was worn out, that there was no *steel* in it. Jo, thirsting for the strong-water, exclaimed, "*Steel*, brother, sartin, *steal*, — me *steal* 'em myself."

We introduce Joseph Lewey merely to relate a story. He was known by every body as "Lazy Jo"; and no one, probably, since the time of Adam, has better deserved the appellation. During the recent controversy with England relative to our northeastern boundary, and in the excitement of the "Aroostook war," so called, Jo happened at a town on the British side of the St. Croix, and was told, by some persons who designed to tease him, that he and his brethren must prepare for the coming hostilities, and join the side of her Majesty. He listened, but rather grunted than uttered his disinclination to fight. His tormentors insisted, and drew a second and more emphatic negative. Jo grew angry, lazy as he was; and, urged time and again to give his reasons for not taking arms, roared out at last, with an energy that dispersed the crowd, "*Wheugh! you spose me fight under squaw-king!*" Contempt for women is a well-known trait in Indian character, and is well illustrated in this anecdote.

Enough has been said, in another place, of Sabatis Neptune, the evil genius of Governor Francis, to show the force of his character. In the vain distinctions preserved among his people, he ranks as the senior counsellor of the tribe, and, at home and abroad, is their principal orator. His intellect is of high order; and his speeches evince method, correct reasoning, and malignant invective. Passages in his harangue in the council which, in 1838, deposed the Penobscot chiefs, will compare with the finest specimens of Indian eloquence. He has been a restless intriguer all his life. Bending now under the weight of sixty-six years, his vigor is much impaired, and his step, always stealthy, has become a kind of snaky creep. In the course of his quarrel with Governor Francis, his attachment to the village at Pleasant Point became weakened; and before its close, he abandoned the sea-shore for the hunting-grounds on the St. Croix,

where many of his party have joined him. Sabatis has a lean, even shrunken face, a piercing eye, and a thoughtful air, and his every movement shows the wily savage.

John Lacote is about sixty years of age, and on his father's side is of French descent. His temper is impetuous and vindictive, but he is one of the most intelligent men in the tribe. Fifteen years ago, he scarcely had an equal in personal beauty, or a rival on the hunting-grounds. Intemperance has been his ruin.

Newell Neptune, the lieutenant-governor, is the last of whom we shall speak. His age is less than fifty; but he appears much younger. A favorite of the Sabatis party, he was elected to displace Governor Francis. He is grave, thoughtful, and modest even to diffidence. He speaks English extremely well, but, taciturn beyond his race, seldom engages in conversation with white men. His words always have meaning. In his disposition he is kind and amiable, in his person handsome, and in his conduct unexceptionable. When among the Penobscots and the St. Johns, to attend councils, his dignity and general propriety attract admiration.

Such are the Passamaquoddys as a tribe; such, some of their principal men. Should we fulfil our intention of speaking of the Penobscots, it will be seen that, less degenerate, with more property, of greater intelligence and industry, they are superior in almost every thing.

L. S.

Art. VII. — "NATURAL RELIGION."*

We are glad to see that Mr. Fox, who is better known to us as a preacher than as a politician, has not, in relin-

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* 1. *On the Religious Ideas.* By W. J. Fox, M. P. London: Charles Fox. 1849.

2. *The Religions of the World and their Relations to Christianity considered in Eight Lectures founded by the Right Hon. Robert Boyle.* By Frederick Denison Maurice, M. A. London: John W. Parker. 1847.

3. *The Progress of the Intellect as exemplified in the Religious Development of the Greeks and Hebrews.* By Robert William Mackay. In two Volumes. London: John Chapman. 1850.

4. *Darstellung und Kritik der Beweise für das Dasein Gottes.* Von C. Fortlage. Heidelberg. 1840.

quishing the clerical function, entirely withdrawn himself from theology, but still finds time, in his new career, for occasional diversions in the old field. The work we have cited below, though conceived in a different spirit and reflecting very different views, coincides with that of Mr. Maurice in its general purpose, which is to exhibit the connection between the religious ideas of different nations, and to trace their relation to the Christian faith. The learned, but ill-digested production of Mr. Mackay concurs with this design, so far as two of the leading nations of antiquity are concerned; while Fortlage's admirable treatise, of which we should like well to see an English version, presents a complete history of the argument for the being of God, as conducted by Pagan and by Christian philosophers.

All these investigations go to illustrate the fact of a universal religion, — a religion which, with different developments incident to different periods and dispensations, is common in its leading ideas to all times and tribes. This universal religion is what is meant by the term "*natural*" *religion*, as used by English writers, in distinction from "revealed." We question, for our own part, the validity of this distinction, as intended to designate different methods by which religious ideas have been obtained, or might be obtained, by man. The distinction is futile, because it is impossible to ascertain with precision what ideas in this sense are natural to man, and what are not; what might have been reached without the successive dispensations of religion which have hitherto passed upon mankind, and what would have proved unattainable. And not only so, but if we attempt to define to ourselves what we mean by a natural discovery in religion, as distinct from divine communication, we shall find it impossible to draw a line of demarcation which shall satisfy ourselves and the common judgment of mankind.

We say it is impossible to ascertain with precision what ideas in religion are "natural," — that is discoverable by natural processes, — and what are not. We have no *data* for determining this question. If we assume, as a test, the conclusions of Christian philosophers who have labored to reproduce by a dialectic process, or to fix on a basis of pure reason, the primary truths of religion, the value of that test is impaired by the very fact that

these philosophers were Christian, and as such already possessed of those truths which they labored to deduce. It matters little how just the conclusions or how irrefragable the logic; they prove nothing as to the competence of the human understanding to discover religious truths, since the truths to be discovered preëxisted in the mind. It is easy to do the sum when the answer is given. You may go to your library in the dark, and take the volume which you want from its place on the shelf. But in order to do that, you must have been there before in the light. The question is not whether the conclusions are just, but whether they are spontaneous; not whether the true doctrine has been hit by this process, but whether the groping intellect would ever have seized it without the prevenient grace of a higher illumination. For those who enjoy the light of Christianity to fancy that they really disuse that light, while professing to ignore it, is a poor delusion, like that of children playing blindfold, and pretending to walk with their eyes shut, while at every turn they peep beneath the bandage, and, by surreptitious observation, furnish themselves with a new direction. The truths in these reasonings are always presumed; they are always foreseen. They are not discovered by any light which the process of ratiocination engenders, but, as Herschel discovered Uranus, by virtue of their own lustre, — our reason being only the speculum in which the truth is mirrored.

Or shall we seek our proofs of natural discoveries in religion beyond the Christian era? Shall we seek them in the writings of the ancients who have speculated on these subjects? Shall we seek them in Ionic, Eleatic, and Italic philosophies? Or in Plato and Cicero and Seneca? Here, too, the same objection meets us, although in a modified form. Wherever these philosophers have asserted a religious truth, there is reason to suspect the spontaneity of their conclusions. We always find, on investigation, that they had sat down by foreign streams, and filled their earthen vessels with a lore which preëxisted before their inquiries. Cicero derived his wisdom from the Academy, whose earliest and best voices had taught the same three hundred years before. Plato, whose name denotes a new era of the intellect, and marks the second great moment in the passage from Asia into Europe,

was only a lens through which the converging rays of Orphic, Hermaic, and Magian wisdom were poured with concentrated power on the Western world. Anaxagoras, the first among the Greeks, according to Aristotle, who affirmed that the world was formed and governed by Intelligence, had travelled in Egypt, and was probably more indebted to the priests of Sais than he was to his own sagacity, for that fruitful idea. So, too, Pythagoras and Zeno, and all the lights of Grecian philosophy, refer us to an elder day. They are only witnesses and *media* of a light which they transmit from an unknown antiquity, with more or less of chromatic error in the passage. We trace that light to the East, we trace it to the banks of the Tigris, of the Ganges, of the Nile, and there its origin is lost in the uncertainty of pre-historic periods. But this is remarkable, that, the higher we ascend the historic record, the more theistic and religious the thought and life of man are found to be. All this points, as it seems to us, to a revelation older than history, from which the theologies of India, of Persia, and of Egypt, and after them the philosophies of Hellas and of Magna Græcia, derived whatever of truth they have incorporated in their systems. If the fathers of the Hebrew race, as the Jewish records claim, enjoyed divine illumination, why may we not suppose that other tribes from the same Semitic stock partook of the same light, if less carefully preserved and less generally diffused among the Elamite and Aramæan nations, than it was in the Abrahamic line? It is fair to presume that the esoteric doctrine of Egypt, as well as the Mithra-worship of Zoroaster, were only traditionary fragments of an aboriginal Word coeval with civilized man.

And not only is this primal revelation a just inference, *a posteriori*, from the history of human thought in relation to this subject, but *a priori* also, it is presumable from the very idea of God and the wants of the soul. The presumption which Paley, in his "Evidences," derives in favor of Christianity from the seeming necessity, and therefore antecedent probability, of some revelation to subjects of a moral law, may with equal justice be claimed in favor of a revelation prior to Christianity, and prior to the Hebrew law. If such a revelation was necessary two thousand years ago, it was equally necessary four thou-

sand years ago. If it was necessary to the children of Eber, it was equally so to the children of Ashur and of Aram, and to those "who divided the isles of the Gentiles." The perception of truths so essential to the well-being of man — God, Immortality, and a Moral Law — may reasonably be supposed to have been divinely communicated to infant man, as soon as he became sufficiently mature to be morally accountable, if, indeed, it did not form a part of the original dower of the soul. It may reasonably be supposed that God did not wait the full age of the understanding to make known himself, but that, leaving earthly things to the ordinary, tentative methods of the understanding, he imparted the more necessary knowledge of things divine by a quicker process; interpolating the slow progress of humanity with miraculous intuitions, and kindling with a breath the persuasion of Himself "which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

In this view the best voices of the Christian Church concur. Cudworth, than whom English theology has no brighter ornament, expressly declares his conviction, that those notions of the Pagan philosophers which harmonized with Christian truth were the product of Revelation. It was a favorite doctrine of the Fathers, that all moral teachers and philosophers, who, before the coming of Christianity, were truly wise, and taught essential truth, partook of the spirit of Christianity, enlightened by the same eternal "Word" not yet made flesh. Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, Cyril, Lactantius, and others, bear witness to the strict monotheism which lay beneath the polytheism of the Greeks and Romans. And Augustine says that these nations "had not so far degenerated as to have lost the idea of one supreme God," — thus intimating an earlier period when this idea was more clearly perceived, and more fully embraced, than it was by the Pagans of his day.

But even these testimonies are less explicit and less positive than those of the New Testament writers themselves, who declare, in so many words, this aboriginal revelation. The proem of the fourth Gospel is a broad and unequivocal assertion of this very thing. "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God," or "God was the word." That is, from all eternity

God revealed himself. In this word "was life, and the life was the light of men." "He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God." Paul, in his Epistle to the Romans, maintains the same. "That which may be known of God," he says, "is manifest to the Gentiles," "for God hath showed it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead. So that they are without excuse, because, when they knew God, they glorified him not as God, and changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image like to corruptible man."

But setting aside these external evidences of a primal revelation, what do we mean when we speak of a "natural" origin of religious truth, as distinguished from divine communication? Does any thing we know of the origin of ideas justify that distinction? Does any experience we have had justify us in affirming that any one of our religious ideas has been generated by the self-action of the mind? We speak of "reasoning out" truth, as if our reasoning were *genetic;* as if logic were an inventive process; as if a philosophical truth, like God, or Free-will, or Necessity, were something deposited at the foot of an induction, just as an answer in arithmetic is duly delivered at the close of the sum. What one of our theological or metaphysical convictions, — if we will be candid with ourselves, — has been obtained in this way? What one of them has been reasoned out empirically, like an arithmetical problem? It is not thus, — it is not by logical methods, by putting *major* and *minor* together, that we have been led to these views and beliefs. The only account we can give of them is, that they sprung up in our minds; that so it was given us, so it was whispered to us, when we turned our thoughts in that direction. It may be we can recall the day and the hour when this or that conviction took possession of the soul. But whence it came we know not, nor how it came; only that it came. It came of itself to the watching mind, and was not elaborated by diligent experiment. Our views of moral and religious truth are not syllogistic conclusions, but impressions, intuitions. They are not

calculated, but revealed in us. We know not how better to characterize the manner of their *genesis* than by calling them "revelations." All personal experience of religious truth is a revelation made in us of so much truth as we experience; and the real distinction between these subjective experiences and what we call, objectively, a "revelation" in religion, is not a difference of origin,—for the truths of any given revelation must be revealed in us again, before we can truly receive them,—but the addition, in the one case, of an outward, historical sanction, which is wanting in the other.

We say, then, that all religion, as far as we have any knowledge, or can form any plausible conjecture of its origin in nations or individuals, is revealed. It is not a product of ratiocination, but the gift of Him whose inspiration giveth understanding. What Jesus said of Peter may be said with equal justice of every one who has hold of a religious truth, be he Christian, Turk, or Hindoo. "Flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my Father which is in heaven." And this, too, is worthy of note, that, of all existing historical religions, "revelation" forms a conspicuous element.

On the other hand, all religion, historical or individual, is *natural*, as constituting a natural attribute of man, an essential and indestructible part of human nature. Religion, in some form, Christian here, Braminical there, Magian in one age and Mohammedan in another, is as much a constitutive element of man's nature as any other part of his being.

What, then, is meant or should be meant by "Natural Religion," so called, as distinguished from Revealed? What is the origin of the term, and what was intended by those who first employed it? We suppose it was used originally to distinguish all other religions from the Christian. The Christian world was said to be in a state of "grace," the rest of mankind in a state of "nature." Accordingly, the religious faith of the latter was called "Natural"; and as Christianity was assumed to be the only "revelation," the religion of Christians was distinctively called "Revealed." Then, as certain particulars of the extra-Christian religions were seen to coincide with Christian truth, all that part of religion was set down as discoverable by the "natural," that is, the uninspired

reason, while those particulars of the Christian scheme which were not observed in other religions were considered as constituting the specific topics of Revelation. Hence the distinction of Natural and Revealed religion which obtained its greatest prevalence during the last century. The real distinction originally intended was that of Christian and extra-Christian religions. The terms in which this distinction was expressed are based on a false assumption. "Ethnic and Christian" would have been the true designation, or, better still, "universal and special" religion, — the term universal comprehending what is common to all religions, the term special, as used by Christians, expressing what is peculiar to our own.

By Natural Religion we mean universal religion; we mean those religious ideas which are common to all mankind, or at least to all religions of which we have any accurate knowledge.

It follows, that, in order to determine the elements of Natural Religion, the true method is, not to interrogate our own consciousness, still less to endeavor to test with our understanding what doctrines are capable of being logically legitimated; but to inquire of history and ethnology, what doctrines are common to all religions. Whatsoever religious ideas we shall find to have been embraced in all ages, by all nations, that is, by all nations possessing a systematic theology, — *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus*, — these constitute the substance of Natural Religion.

The adoption of this principle extends the area of Natural Religion, and brings within its scope some ideas which have not usually been regarded as belonging to that province. The truths heretofore embraced in it are, first, the being of God, with those qualities, natural and moral, which form the essential predicates of Deity, including Creation and Providence; secondly, a Moral Law, with its correlate notion of moral accountableness; and thirdly, a Future Life. To these we must add, in the first place, the idea of *Revelation*, — an idea common to all religions, either in the form of incarnation, as most nations believe, or of a communication made by divinely accredited prophets, as Judaism and Islamism have received it. "Religion and Revelation," it has been said, "are twin thoughts; wherever we find the one, we find the other

also."* That God should reveal himself, lies in the conception of God, — intelligent natures, susceptible of revelation, being supposed. Scarcely will the rudest Fetichism be found to want this organic element in the idea of God.

Worship is another idea of Natural Religion, an idea inseparable from it, and found wherever man is found. Worship, however conceived or rendered; for whatever end, in whatever manner, performed; as voluntary homage or compulsory tribute, for rendering thanks or averting wrath; — worship, whether it consist in animal sacrifices, or in sounding of gongs, or swinging of censers or showing of wafers, or intelligent speech, or meditative silence; — worship of some sort is universal, and never yet has a people been found to which it was wanting. "You may travel the world through," says Plutarch, "and find towns and cities without walls, without letters, without kings, without houses, without wealth, without theatres or places of exercise, but there never was seen, nor shall be seen by man, one city without temples or without making use of prayers or sacrifices for the obtaining of blessings and the averting of curses and calamities. Nay, I am of opinion that a city might sooner be built without any ground to stand upon, than a commonweal be constituted altogether void of worship, or being constituted, be preserved." †

We reckon further, as one of the constituents of Natural Religion, the idea of a radical *Evil*, inherent in the constitution of things, and perpetually warring against the good in nature and in man. Most religions, perhaps all, have personified this principle, and represented the evil that is in the world as the operation of a conscious and voluntary agent, the malign influence of some demonic Power or Powers, whose being is a contradiction of the Godhead, and whose nature and function it is to contest with divine Love the physical and moral empire of the world. The personification is not, we conceive, a substantive, but only an incidental part of this idea. All that is essential in it is the supposition of a negative principle, a contrary power, whose operation is evil, whether

* Fox, "On the Religious Ideas."
† Plutarch's Morals, Old English version.

it be conceived as an independent, conscious existence, according to the Magian or Manichean theory; whether as the second term in a dualism coördinate with the act of creation, or only as the reaction of a nature lapsed from its first estate and its primal good. In one form or another, the assertion of an Evil Principle runs through every positive religion, and must therefore be received as a fundamental idea of Natural Religion. So fundamental, indeed, is this idea, that Kant, who will not be suspected of any undue bias in that direction, maintains the fact of a radical evil in man, as a cardinal thesis of his "Religion within the Bounds of Reason."

This doctrine of an evil principle in conflict with the good, supposes the supremacy and final triumph of the good, — an idea which all religions, by various myths or symbols or prophecies, have sought to express. It is emblemed in the Greek mythology in the conquest obtained by Jupiter over Typhon. In the doctrine of the Bramins, Siva, the destroying god, whose neck is encircled with a rosary of the skulls of Brahma, — that is, with the ruins of successive creations which he has successively dissolved, — holds his office of destroyer in subordination to that of reproducer and giver of life. He is not only Siva-Rudra, the annihilator, but Siva-Vishnu, the regenerator and conserver of the world; a son of Brahm, and exercising his function in obedience to him.

"So taught of old the Indian seer,
Destroying Siva, forming Brahm,
Who wake by turns Earth's love and fear,
Are still the same."

This idea is devoloped with the greatest precision in the Magian religion, of which the distinctive principle is a dualism of Light and Darkness, or Good and Evil. This dualism, according to the Shasters, had its origin in an elder unity, and will end in unity again. The good will finally triumph, and the evil will resolve itself into the good, — "their long hostility will be reconciled and confounded in light and love." *

"Ever wider, ever lighter,
The holy shafts of light are cast,
Ahriman himself, the dark one,
Will be merged in Light at last."

* See Creuzer, "Religions de l'Antiquité."

The recognition of Satanic agency, which pervades the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, and the Apocalyptic prediction of a time when Satan shall be bound and rendered powerless, constitute the Christian aspect of this universal belief.

Closely connected with this doctrine is that of *Redemption*, which must also be regarded as an element of universal religion. The doctrine of Redemption supposes an alienation or lapse from God and goodness, and affirms a restoration by faith and repentance, through the mediation of some prophet or divine person providentially appointed, or self-devoted to that end. In some religions, the notion of vicarious expiation comes in as a form or condition of redemption. Of this we have examples in the Phœnician myth of *Jeoud*, the son of God, who is sacrificed for the good of his people; in the Prometheus of the Greek, and the Odin of the Scandinavian mythology. But this notion is not essential to the doctrine of Redemption. All that is essential to it is the idea of deliverance from evil, and restoration to God by mediation.

These, we conceive, are the cardinal doctrines of Natural Religion. Others, that might be enumerated, are subordinate to these, and included in them. These are the primal beliefs of mankind, around which all religious ideas cluster. They are found with various modifications in all positive religions of which we have any knowledge, and therefore, according to the principle which we have laid down, are essential constituents of Natural Religion. For what better criterion can we have of what is natural, than the common consent of mankind? This, and not the deductions of philosophy, must be our test and guide in this inquiry. When we ask of the doctrines of "natural" religion, it is a question of fact, and not a question of theory, with which we are concerned. The question is, not what might be believed, or what should be believed, but what *is* believed. It is not what this or that philosopher has demonstrated, or what we ourselves may demonstrate by strict philosophical methods, but what has obtained the general consent of mankind.

And this general consent of mankind, which determines the doctrines of Natural Religion, furnishes also

the better part of their proof. It constitutes the main element in the Evidences, as it does in the History, of religion.

Under this head of Evidences, we shall only glance at the ground-idea of all religion, — the being of God. The writings, ancient and modern, which bear on this point, which aim to demonstrate the being of God, are striking illustrations of that propensity in man to give account to himself of his convictions, which impels him to seek in demonstration a certitude which preëxisted in himself. No conviction of the human mind is stronger than that of the being of God. Of no being or thing, scarcely even of our own being, is the persuasion more absolute. Men differ infinitely in their conceptions of God, in the more or less which they comprehend in that conception. The essential attributes of one conception may be wanting to another, but some conception, representing, however imperfectly, the idea of God, is proper to every sane mind, and may be reckoned a necessary and constitutive part or product of the mind. An atheist, in the strict sense of unbelief in any Power or Law which holds of Deity, is an impossibility. The would-be atheist, if any such there be, cannot extirpate this idea from his soul. It besets him behind and before. If, in the place of God, he exalts Nature to the authorship and governance of the world, he endows Nature with the attributes of Divinity. If he refers all things to Necessity, he makes a God of Necessity. He may change the name as he pleases; he cannot get rid of the fact. To whatever power or principle he assigns the creation and control of things, that power becomes a God to him. Strict atheist there is none, and what passes for atheism, and professes to be atheism, — the denial of a personal, that is, a self-conscious, a self-determining Deity, — is so exceptional a case, that we are warranted in affirming all men theists, with whatever distinctness of conception or intensity of faith they may hold that opinion. Every man believes in God, a conscious God, self-determined, all-determining, a supreme Intelligence and a supreme Will, the centre, source, law, motive, reason, end of all being. It is the strongest of all our convictions. Of all our ideas, that of God is most necessary and universal; but it is also the most undefinable and undemonstrable.

God is the name we give to our highest conception of power and goodness. It is the ultimate fact to which, as cause and ground, we refer all that is or can be; to which, as archetype and ideal, we refer all possible excellence; and to which, as providence and law, we refer the destinies of all creatures and the moral government of the world. Any precise definition of this idea is impossible and absurd. To define is to limit, to circumscribe, to run the boundary which divides one being from another. We define an object by separating it from all others. But God, who includes all, cannot be thus separated. He who comprehends all limits is comprehended by none. The nature that explains all cannot be explained. The thought which would determine God is already determined by him. We can no more define him, or comprehend him, than we can go behind our own consciousness, or see behind our own eyes.

As the idea of God is undefinable, so the truth of that idea, the existence of God, is undemonstrable; and all demonstrations of it hitherto attempted, whether by the ontological, cosmological, or physico-theological method, — or the mathematical, for even that has been pretended, — have proved failures. No one of the speculative proofs aspiring to the dignity of demonstration which have yet been offered possesses any logical value. The utmost that can be claimed for them is, that, on the supposition of a God, they help to illustrate the nature of his being, and the method of his action, and the character of his government. But the existence of God is always presumed in these reasonings. They add positively nothing to the certitude of that truth. As demonstrations, they are utterly valueless, and vanish at the touch of criticism. A little analysis blows them into nothing. The ontological demonstration, "*via aseitatis*," which became so famous, as stated by Anselm of Canterbury in the "Argument from the Highest Good," and which, in one form or another, was repeated by Thomas Aquinas, by Duns Scotus, and others of the Schoolmen, then revived by Descartes, restated by Leibnitz and Spinoza, improved by Kant, and vindicated by Hegel, is nothing more than a logical quibble, and carries no more conviction to the mind than a hundred other scholastic puzzles, which turn on a play of words, and which you

see at once to be absurd and to be irrefragable. Its whole contribution to theology consists in developing the idea of self-existence expressed in the word *Jehovah* three thousand years ago.

The "teleological" argument, or the argument from design, was first stated by Socrates, who argued* that things which have a manifest use, τὰ ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ γενόμενα, were the work of design, γνώμῃ, and adduces, among other things, the arrangement of the eye as an illustration of this design. The vein thus opened was diligently worked by the ancients, particularly the Stoics. It crops out occasionally in mediæval theology; it formed the chief stratum in the religious philosophy of the last century; it was quarried with peculiar zest by the English, and yielded its crowning specimen in Paley's "Natural Theology." This argument has the merit of having furnished many excellent and entertaining works in the various provinces of natural philosophy, and in some cases, perhaps, of deepening the reverent wonder which the contemplation of God in creation excites in every well-constituted mind. And when we have said this, we have conceded, we believe, the uttermost that can be claimed in its behalf. As a positive proof of the existence of God, it is worthless. It only proves, that if there be a God, and that God the maker of the world, he has wrought with consummate skill. But the existence of God is all along presumed. The very word *design* is a begging of the question. What we see in Nature is a relation of means and ends. When we call this design, or contrivance, we commit what in logic is called a *subreptio*, we assume the very point on which the argument hinges, and which requires to be proved. The link which connects the thing observed, in this case, with the inference drawn from it, is not a logical synthesis, but a sentiment. No sound mind doubts that there is design in Nature, and no sound mind doubts that there is a God; but moral certitude is one thing, and scientific demonstration is another. The imputation of design in any case is a judgment determined by subjective conditions. We see design where we appreciate the use resulting from a given combination, we ignore it where we do not; although, apart from our private feeling of fitness,

* Xenophon, Memorabil. Socr.

there is just the same evidence of design in the one case as in the other. That every conceivable triangle, of whatever dimensions, — whether it be the constellation so called, to the left of Andromeda, inclosing incalculable spaces, or whether it be constituted by lines of an inch long in the margin of a text-book, — should include precisely one hundred and eighty degrees, no more and no less; — that in every product of the number nine the addition of the digits composing that product should give nine, or a lesser product of nine; — these facts have all the substantial proof of design which the theologian finds in the circulation of the blood, or the thoughtful adjustments of the eye, that "cunningest pattern of excelling Nature."

But they do not convey the same impression of design, because they suggest no evident advantage accruing to any sentient subject. Accordingly, we do not call this geometrical or arithmetical law design, but pronounce it a necessity resulting from the nature of angles and of numbers. And how do we know, the skeptic* asks, but "that the whole economy of the universe is conducted by a like necessity, though no human algebra can furnish its key," and that, if we could "penetrate into the intimate nature of bodies, we should clearly see why it was absolutely impossible that they could ever admit of any other disposition"? The heart protests against such a supposition, and the protest is admissible in the court of the understanding; but admissible only as moral presumption, not as positive proof.

The argument from design has its origin in a law of the mind which demands intelligence as the coördinate of being. Whatever conviction it produces is due to that law, and the statement of that law is the measure of that conviction. Hence, the simplest existences are just as convincing as any example in the Bridgewater Treatises. We want God as much for a chaos as we do for a *kosmos;* we want him as much for the first filament of incipient organization, as we do for the finished curiosity of the human hand.

It is related of Napoleon, that, conversing one night on a voyage with some philosophers who were arguing atheistically, he pointed to the stars and said, "You may

* Hume, "Dialogues concerning Natural Religion," Part IX.

talk as much as you please, gentlemen, but who made all that?" This expresses the spontaneous judgment of the unsophisticated mind. This is the first impression produced by the contemplation of the outward world, an impression which no labored induction and no analysis of organized structures can add to or improve, — intelligence coördinate with being, — intelligence the cause of being.

When Vanini was arraigned on the charge of atheism before the Senate of Toulouse, he lifted a straw from the floor, and, holding it up to his judges, declared, "This straw compels me to confess that there is a God."* It needs nothing more to enforce that confession, when we reason from existence to the cause of existence. A straw will suffice for that purpose as well as an animal kingdom. A straw is just as unaccountable without a God as any process of animal life. For, once suppose matter to be self-existent, and you may give it what attributes and functions you please.

The first aspect of Nature suggests a God as readily as the most recondite wonders which Science has brought to light. It suggests that Power without which a blade of grass is no more possible than a star, and whose action is as much needed to arrange the corolla of the wild-flower that blossoms in our path to-day, as it was, in the beginning, to unfold the corolla of that celestial flower whose petals are worlds.

He to whom Nature, unstudied and undissected, is not the immediate presence of God, will never reach God by dissection. He who cannot see him in the living subject will not see him in the naked paradigm. Take some bright day in the early summer, when the vegetable world, new risen, fills the eye and prospect with its gracious presence and its harvest hopes, — he who, in all that flowering and production, where myriad germs are crowding, rushing, storming into life, — in that teeming nature, so broad and prodigal and multitudinous and minute, which blooms and flits and waves before his eyes, — he who cannot hear, like Adam in Paradise, the voice of the Lord God walking in the garden and the field, will not find him by following the anatomist along the paths of dusty death.

Besides, though we grant to the argument from design

* Bayle's Dictionary, Art. *Vanini.*

the uttermost that is claimed for it, what does it give us, after all, but the wonderful mechanician, the unfathomable artist, possessing apparently unlimited power, but not, that we can see, unlimited benevolence, — a *Deus ex machina*, not the God of religion, not the God who heareth prayer, not the Father of spirits and of mercies? It is not for the solving of physical problems that we want a God. If that were all, some Epicurean theory of a self-existent universe might answer as well. What religion wants and declares is a Father in heaven, a moral governor and judge of the rational world. Of this God the natural proofs are our own consciousness, our moral instincts, and the universal consent of mankind, to which we have alluded before.

The existence of God is given in the moral nature of man. If any thing is certain, the moral law is certain, — the law which asserts itself in every man as the supreme rule of action. This is a primary fact of our consciousness. But the moral law supposes a God as the necessary condition of the possibility of its fulfilment. This truth was seized by Kant, who was the first to appreciate its philosophical significance, and who found in it the highest, and only satisfactory proof of a God. And this is the great merit of his philosophy, that, while it demolishes dogmatism, and exposes the uncertainty of our cognitions, so far as they depend on the speculative reason, it gives all the more weight to the practical part of our nature, and recognizes that as the ultimate ground of all religious certainty. Kant was the first to do this. He argues that, since we are commanded to seek the highest good in obedience to the moral law, and since obedience to the moral law is felt to be the condition of the highest good, and further, since human power is inadequate to accomplish that good, we must suppose an almighty moral Being, by whom it is accomplished, as the ruler of the world. That is, morality leads inevitably to religion.*

More concisely, we may say that our moral instincts, or better, our moral experiences, imply a God as the objective reality to which they relate, precisely as our sensible experiences imply a material world to which they

* Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der Vernunft.

relate. In other words, we have the same evidence for the being of God, that we have for an outward world, that is, our own personal experience. And when to our own experience we add the consenting testimony of every kindred and nation, the great affirmative of history, the *aye* of all time, we have an amount of evidence, than which it is impossible for us to imagine any more convincing, more irresistible. This evidence from the universal consent of mankind is pronounced by Cicero to have the validity of a natural law. "Ut porro firmissimum hoc adferri videtur, cur Deos esse credamus, quod nulla gens tam fera, — cujus mentem non imbuerit Deorum opinio; — omni autem in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturæ putanda est." *

This general consent has no exceptions that are worth regarding. There have been professed atheists indeed, and there are atheistical books, and there are theories, old and recent, of Nature and life, which virtually explode God from the universe, and a moral government from the order of things, and make existence a confused jumble of accidents without law or aim; but thoroughgoing, consistent atheism is impossible, or possible only as mental disease. "For if we are not brought to the belief of a God by reason," says Montaigne,† "we are brought to it by force; atheism being a proposition not only unnatural and monstrous, but difficult and hard to be digested by the mind of man. There are instances enough of men, who, from vanity and the pride of broaching uncommon opinions, and of being reformers of the world, outwardly affect the possession of such opinions. . . . . Nevertheless, if you plunge a dagger in their breasts, they will not fail to lift up their hands towards heaven. . . . . A doctrine seriously digested is one thing, and those superficial impressions are another, which, springing from the depravity of an unsettled mind, float rashly and at random in the fancy." Perfect atheist there is none. Every man believes in a God. Upon every soul there is laid the consciousness of a greater than itself. Every man feels himself bosomed and girt and pierced through by a Power which closes him in on every side, and disposes of him at will. But

* Cic. Tusc. Quæst. † Apology for Raimond de Sebonde.

how great the difference between this dim consciousness and a genuine faith in God! If by believing in God is meant merely an impression of Deity, who can look Nature in the face and say, I believe him not? If by believing in God is meant a belief which gives law to the life, who can look into his own heart and say, I believe?

Faith in God, as in all the other truths of religion, is conditioned by the will, and is, in some sort, the product of the will. We conceive very falsely of the mind, if we suppose it to be acted upon mechanically by arguments and proofs, and that so much evidence must needs produce so much faith. No evidence can force belief where the mind is predetermined against an opinion, or create an effective faith, where the mind is indifferent to it. Faith is not an impression, but an act; not passive reception, but moral election. We must will to believe if we would come into positive relations with the truth. And here we reach the precise point at which all our speculations, all honest and earnest inquiry on these subjects, must land us at last; that is, the necessity of faith to perfect any proof or to make any opinion truth to us. Be the evidence what it may, be the truth what it may, — of moral or material import, — faith is required as the necessary complement of that evidence, and the realization of that truth. Facts the most certain, or those so esteemed, are not received without faith. And the most inveterate materialist, the most hard-shelled worldling, leads a life of faith in relation to this visible world, and his business and interests in it. It is only because that business and those interests are too pressing, and leave no room for question, that he does not doubt of the visible world and of every existence but his own. And if faith is wanted for the conduct of worldly affairs, can it be supposed to be unneeded in those of the moral world, and that, if those things be of which religion testifies, they can have any entrance into us except through faith? We learn from our moral nature what things should be believed in order to human well-being. We have that shrewd surmise which the Roman, speaking of faith in God, and borrowing a word from Epicurus, called προλήψις,* an anticipation, a fore-

* "Fateamur hanc nos habere, sive anticipationem, sive prænotionem Deorum, ut Epicurus ipse πρόληψιν appellavit, quam antea nemo eo verbo nominarat." — Cic. de Nat. Deorum.

feeling of the truth, which may be regarded as the finger of God directing attention to the truths of the spirit, those primary and everlasting truths which one generation declareth to another, and one civilization hands down to the next; which all revelations reveal, and all churches confess.

These are the truths which must be believed to make existence tolerable to any thinking mind. For what is our life? — this human existence into which we have come, we know not whence nor why, if there be no God and no immortality. It is an island of small extent, in the midst of a wide, dumb, inexorable deep, which is soon to swallow us up. Why we are here we know not; we only know that we *are* here, and we make us a home as we can, and store and adorn it as we may, and we think we could be content to dwell here for ever. But whenever in our hurry we pause to listen, we hear the eternal surf that expects us, and we know that our island is crumbling beneath our feet. Every day the surrounding ocean washes away a part of our territory, encroaching more and more on our mortal life; and we can calculate the time when the whole will be submerged, and the terrible unknown which encircles it will carry us away as with a flood, whither we know not, to issues we know not, nor with what conditions, if at all, we shall rise again into conscious life. Against this daily waste and impending doom, human wit, as yet, has devised no remedy and furnished no solace. Ancient philosophy had two prescriptions, neither of which has been found to answer. The one was the Epicurean "Eat and drink, for to-morrow we die." Of this it was said truly that "man is not so constituted; the death of to-morrow spoils the appetite of to-day."* The other was the Stoic resource of lofty indifference, superior to fate; more noble, but no more availing. Nothing will avail here but faith; repose in the thought that God is, with all which that truth comprehends. That God is and reigns, that he has measured our span of life, and that, when our foundation in time is removed from under us, he receives us into his arms and sends us forth again to renew our race with new missions in other spheres.

F. H. H.

* Sidney Smith.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Palaces of Nineveh and Persepolis restored. An Essay on Ancient Assyrian and Persian Architecture. By JAMES FERGUSSON, Esq. London: John Murray. 1851.

TILL within a recent period, the histories of both Egypt and Assyria were myths, composed of a few vague, untrustworthy traditions, handed down by the Greeks. The discovery of the true reading of the hieroglyphics has placed Egyptian history on a reliable basis, though leaving us still very much in the dark concerning it. The recent explorations of the fossil world which lies buried under the mounds of Mesopotamia are bringing to light the secrets of empires that had perished before the period of authentic history begins; and they have been carried so far that we are likely soon to know scarcely less of the palaces of ancient Assyria than of those of Greece and Rome.

These remains have a peculiar interest for us, an interest far surpassing that which belongs to the monuments of Egypt. And for several reasons.

The nations from which we are ourselves descended came from the valley of the Euphrates, bringing with them, in part, the germs which have ripened into the civilization of Western Europe. From the same region, emigration and conquest spread into India, — the Sanscrit-speaking people of the East being offshoots from the same original stock.

But these discoveries are especially interesting from their bearing on Jewish history. Abraham came from Assyria, and though his descendants emigrated to Egypt and remained there for centuries, they never lost their nationality. The Egyptians were an isolated people. They never sought to propagate among others either their religion or laws, and, whether conquerors or conquered, were never blended with other nations. The Jews, after centuries of bondage, on returning to the land from which their fathers migrated, brought with them in their faith and in their manners scarcely any trace of Egyptian influence. On the other hand, they had close and strong sympathies with Assyria. They spoke a cognate language, they inherited similar customs and feelings, and their idolatrous tendencies always took the direction of Babylon and Nineveh. These affinities would lead us to expect that the history of the one people would help to interpret the history of the other.

The light mutually thrown by one on the other is greatly increased by another circumstance. All that we know of Jewish history is derived from written records. Monuments, sculptures, inscriptions, all have utterly perished. On the contrary, while Assyria no more than Egypt has left not a single book, she has left abundant monuments of her former greatness, and from these monuments we are able to learn much of her past culture and general civilization. These two modes through which a nation's life may express itself serve for mutual illustration. Thus the descriptions in the Old Testament of the temple and the palace of Solomon, and the architectural remains of Persepolis, throw light on each other, and, by comparison, help to explain difficulties which are found in both.

It is one of the wonderful circumstances connected with these explorations in the plains of the Euphrates and Tigris, that, almost simultaneously with the discovery of the remains of their buried cities, occurred the discovery of the key to the inscriptions on the walls. Without this, the monuments would have been comparatively useless, standing in their mysterious solitudes, mute and unintelligible. But these inscriptions have given a voice to the past, and are revealing to us the records of a history which seemed to have been utterly lost.

The method by which the reading of the inscriptions was discovered is so remarkable, that, though probably familiar to some of our readers, we venture to give a brief account of it. The difficulties attending it were far greater than those which perplexed the deciphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphics. In both cases, the inscriptions were in three languages; but in the case of the Egyptian edict, first deciphered, one of the languages was known, and could be made use of to interpret the others; while in the Assyrian inscriptions, not only the languages, but the very alphabets of all of them were unknown. Omitting the history of the discovery, we confine ourselves solely to the method.

On the walls of Persepolis were found inscriptions, generally short, written for the most part in three different languages, with three distinct alphabets. The first of these, from its taking precedence of the others, was assumed to be Persian, and, what was not clear as to the others, appeared to be evidently alphabetical. Besides this, what was of inestimable advantage, a peculiar mark, of wedge-like form, constantly occurred, in such a manner as to lead to the conviction, which proved finally to be correct, that it indicated the beginning and termination of a word. This sign was between all the words.

Assuming this, two short inscriptions at Persepolis were taken, which, as they are translated, read thus: — "Darius, the great king, the king of kings, the king of nations, the son of Hystas-

pes, the Achæmenian. It is he who has executed this sculpture." The second, "Xerxes the great king, the king of kings, the son of Darius the Achæmenian." It was seen that the two inscriptions were, in part, identical in form. Then one word occurs three or four times in each, and was assumed to be a title. This, with the peculiar grouping of the words, led to another conjecture, which has since become the foundation of all our knowledge, namely, that the inscriptions were genealogies, containing a genealogical succession of three names. The next question was to find out to whom these names belonged. Professor Grotefend, having satisfied himself that Persepolis was the work of the Achæmenian dynasty, then proceeded to try their names in succession. Cyrus and Cambyses would not fit, for the names in the inscription did not begin with the same letter. Cyrus and Artaxerxes were equally impracticable. He then tried Hystaspes, Darius, and Xerxes. To explain it in English, if this conjecture were correct, the first and second letters in Hystaspes ought not to occur again; *s* would be the third and sixth letter of that name, and the terminal letter of all three; *i* would not occur again; while *a* would be the second letter of the second name, and so on. If this had been as easy in Persian as in English, his conjectures would have been easily verified. But the true native pronunciation of the names was not then known. By means of the Zend, however, and some varieties in the Greek, the true mode of spelling was so nearly approached, that there could be no reasonable doubt that he had struck upon the truth. Thus far, however, only ten or twelve out of about forty characters had been ascertained. This discovery was made in 1802. In 1836, M. Burnouf added to the extent of the alphabet by means of other inscriptions, and at length Professor Lassen, through a critical knowledge of Zend, Sanscrit, and other dialects closely allied to the ancient language of Persia, nearly completed the task of alphabetical discovery.

In the mean time, Colonel Rawlinson, who had the great advantage of being stationed in Persia, and also of having a large number of inscriptions at his command, in 1835, undertook to decipher them. Without knowing the process which had led Grotefend to his discoveries, and ignorant of what had been effected in Europe, he succeeded, by independent methods of his own, in making out a complete alphabet, which differed from that of Professor Lassen in only one character, — thus making it evident that, through a surprising series of conjectures, they had at length reached the truth.

On applying this alphabet to the inscriptions, the language proved to be, according to the original conjecture, an old form of Persian, with such affinities to the Sanscrit and Zend as to be

capable of comparatively easy and satisfactory translation. It is asserted that now there is not one paragraph in all the inscriptions whose meaning can be considered as at all doubtful. Thus, in regard to the Persian inscriptions, the problem presented by them seems to be completely solved. This was, however, only a part, and the easiest part, of the task to be accomplished. We have said that the inscriptions were many of them in three languages. It was owing to the three distinct nationalities which then existed and have continued to exist in Mesopotamia. A governor of Bagdad at the present time, if he wishes his edicts to be generally understood, must issue them in Persian, Turkish, and Arabic. And so, in the days of Darius and Xerxes, the inscriptions were written in three languages; one in Persian, addressed to the Indo-Germanic races; one in Assyrian or Babylonian, addressed to the Semitic races, the Chaldeans or Arabs; and the third, respecting which but little as yet is known, probably addressed to the Scythian or Tartar part of the population.

On attempting to decipher the Assyrian inscriptions, it was found that the alphabet contained about one hundred and fifty letters. Besides the number of characters, there were other peculiarities connected with the use of the alphabet which perplexed and loaded the problem with difficulties. By means, however, of extraordinary perseverance and ingenuity, they have been to an important extent overcome. The alphabet has been nearly completed. The language is found to be closely allied to the Hebrew and old Chaldean. Thus, through the aid derived from this source, and a comparison of the inscriptions with those in Persian, the meaning of about five hundred words has been determined. Although much less progress has been made than in the case of the Persian inscriptions, the discoveries already made are of importance, and it is by no means impossible that we may disinter and read the annals of Assyria and Babylon, as they were recorded at the time when the events took place.

Very little progress has been made in deciphering the third class of inscriptions, and they are of less importance because their number is small, and, being found only in connection with the other inscriptions, can probably convey no new information. It is not settled even in what language they were written. It is the conjecture of Fergusson that it was one having affinities with the Etruscan; it being a part of his theory that the remains of Etruria bear the decided impress of an Assyrian origin.

The inscriptions of Persepolis belong to the Achæmenian dynasty, extending from the time of Cyrus to the death of Alexander. But the inscriptions on monuments in different parts of the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates carry us back to the time of

Nimrod, more than two thousand years before the coming of Christ. Of course the discoveries as yet made are very imperfect, but the interest awakened, and the number of persons now engaged upon them, give promise of very important results.

The volume from which we have condensed this account is chiefly devoted to a reconstruction of the palaces and temples which have been disinterred in these perished capitals of the East. From their existing remains, the author endeavors to show what they were when first erected. Whether always successful or not, he makes it abundantly evident that the arts had made great progress long before Greece had emerged from barbarism. Not the least interesting portion of the work is that devoted to tracing the connection between the arts and architecture of Greece and the elder civilization of Egypt and Assyria. While Greece idealized and perfected whatever she touched, the theory of this author is, that she drew whatever is Doric in her arts from Egypt, and whatever is Ionic from Assyria. The civilization along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates was doubtless most rude, fluctuating, and imperfect, — the civilization of an Oriental despotism; but it is equally clear that, in certain respects, it was a magnificent one. In this great valley, — the hive of nations, — powerful empires rose, and flourished, and decayed, from which the seeds of a better civilization were scattered abroad into other regions. Compared with them, ancient Greece belongs to the modern world, and Grecian, and Indian, and it may be Etruscan art, may be found to meet, as in a common centre, in the elder art of Assyria.

The work, of some portions of which we have attempted to give an abstract, is occupied very much with speculations which future discoveries may or may not prove to be well founded; but, independent of their merits, the volume is one of much interest in itself, and of greater interest from its showing how much of learning, ability, and enthusiasm are now directed to the exploring of these monuments of what seemed to be a lost world.

The Golden Legend. By Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1851. 16mo. pp. 301.

Mr. Longfellow has chosen wisely in giving to this work the form of a dramatic poem rather than that of a regularly constructed drama. For, apart from any other consideration, it should seem that his powers are better adapted to narrative or lyric poetry than to dramatic composition. Thus his Spanish Student, though replete with tenderness and pathos, and thickly

studded with passages of rare beauty, failed to meet the requirements of the drama. It was a production of very great and obvious merit; but it has never obtained the popularity which we believe it would have acquired if it had been cast in another form. His Evangeline, on the other hand, is almost a faultless production, and at once gained a greater popularity than any other American poem has ever obtained. The form which he has now adopted is well suited to his genius, and seems at the same time peculiarly fitted for the subject he has selected. In truth, it is better adapted to a poem like the present than a strictly narrative or dramatic form would have been.

The scene is laid in the early part of the thirteenth century; and the whole substance of the poem is characteristic of the Middle Ages. The story is vague, mysterious, and legendary, and may be briefly sketched as follows. A German prince, who is a student of alchemy and a laborious reader, has been attacked by a painful disease, which baffles the physicians and plunges him in deep depression. As he is sitting in his tower bewailing his former happiness, Lucifer, in the guise of a travelling physician, comes in and assures him that his wonderful Catholicon will effect a certain cure. Thereupon he produces a bottle of the Elixir Vitæ, which the prince drinks; and in consequence of this intercourse with the Devil he is excommunicated and driven into exile.

> "And forth from the chapel door he went
> Into disgrace and banishment,
> Clothed in a cloak of hodden gray,
> And bearing a wallet, and a bell,
> Whose sound should be a perpetual knell
> To keep all travellers away." — p. 35.

He finds a refuge with an honest peasant family, in whom the gratitude of the feudatory to his lord overcomes the fear of the Church. Here he wins all hearts by his kindness and gentleness; and Elsie, the eldest daughter, a girl of fourteen, who has learned that he cannot be cured,

> "unless
> Some maiden, of her own accord,
> Offers her life for that of her lord,
> And is willing to die in his stead," (p. 62)

resolves to make the sacrifice herself, in order that he may live and be happy. Lucifer, who is the busiest person in the poem, and who still keeps up his early interest in the unfortunate prince, insinuates himself into the village confessional during the absence of the priest, and persuades the prince and the girl's mother to consent to her death. Thus directed, it is at once determined that the prince and the maiden shall go to Salerno,

where the sacrifice of her life is to take place. The journey occupies a considerable part of the poem; and the different objects which they see on the way are happily described. At Strasburg they witness the performance of one of those miracle-plays, or mysteries, as they are more commonly called, which were so often represented during the Middle Ages, and by which the priests sought to tyrannize over the minds of an ignorant and superstitious people. During their tarry at the convent of Hirschan, where they remain one night, we are shown a graphic picture of the various ways in which the monks passed their lives; and this is, perhaps, the best portion of the poem. Arrived at length at Salerno, Lucifer once more assumes the garb of a priest, and again endeavors to persuade them to complete the sacrifice. Elsie adheres to her determination with a woman's constancy and self-devotion. But just as she is on the point of executing her long-cherished purpose, the prince interferes and prevents it. Touched by her generous and affectionate spirit he soon after marries her, is cured, and returns home amidst general rejoicing.

In this brief and imperfect outline we have only glanced at the more salient points of the story, that we may the more clearly indicate in a few words what seems to us to be the author's chief purpose. We may remark in passing, however, that the treatment is striking and original, and that there are numerous passages of great beauty scattered through the dialogue and soliloquies. The character of Elsie is one of our author's finest creations, and is hardly inferior to either Evangeline or Preciosa. The other characters are less prominently brought out, and are for the most part merely outlined. The design of the poem, when considered apart from the story, is, as we conceive, to present a series of pictures illustrating different aspects of life in the Middle Ages, which when taken together shall give to the reader a clear and connected impression of the prevalent habits and sentiments of those ages. Whoever should undertake to draw a correct picture of the Middle Ages would signally fail if he did not pay particular attention to certain marked characteristics, each of which is more or less clearly exhibited by Mr. Longfellow in the poem now before us. Herein, we conceive, is its highest merit. It is to a very noticeable degree representative of the age in which its scene is laid. Mr. Longfellow has not forgotten how earnestly men everywhere were devoted to alchemy, and the kindred studies; how great and terrible was the temporal power of the Church and the clergy; how intimate was the relation between the feudatory and his lord; how depressed and entirely subject to man was the condition of woman, even in the midst of so much outward honor and splendor; how

vicious were the lives of a large part of the monks and priests, yet how laborious and devoted were others; how widely extended and deeply rooted was the belief in a personal agency of the Devil in the affairs of men; how casuistical and disputatious were the men of letters; how avaricious and grasping were the feudal lords; and how all classes bowed before the crusading spirit. All these points we find skilfully suggested or happily treated. Nor are his usual graces of style and beauty of imagery wanting, though less apparent than in some of his other productions.

Sir Roger de Coverley. By the SPECTATOR. [With Notes and Illustrations by W. H. WILLS.] Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 16mo. pp. xii. and 233.

IT is nearly fifteen years since we last read the De Coverley papers; but we still remember the unmixed delight with which we then perused them. Scattered along through the first seven volumes of the Spectator, they had sufficient unity to make a distinct and connected impression upon the mind, even in the midst of so much intellectual grace and beauty as are found in those inimitable essays. But those who now read them for the first time will realize still greater pleasure from them when separated from the other essays and taken in connection with each other. The character of Sir Roger de Coverley, as has been frequently observed, presents one of the most pleasing pictures of the country gentleman of Queen Anne's time to be found in the whole extent of English literature, and possesses an historical value, apart from its interest as a work of the imagination, which should not be overlooked. One of the chief merits of the Spectator is, that he gives us a true representation of the state of morals and manners in his own time. Nowhere is there a more exact or a more lively view of English society, or a more finished model of a pure and elegant style; and it is much to be regretted that the entire work is not more often and more generally read than it now is. The volume before us contains all the papers relating to the Worcestershire knight, except the account of his adventure in the Temple cloister, which has been most judiciously omitted, and a few verbal omissions, where Steele had offended against our present standard of propriety. The notes appended by Mr. Wills are full and valuable, and throw much light on passages which would otherwise be somewhat obscure to readers not well versed in English history.

Annals of the Town of Warren** [**Maine**]; **with the Early History of St. George's, Broad-Bay, and the Neighboring Settlements on the Waldo Patent. By CYRUS EATON, A. M. Hallowell: Masters, Smith, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. xii. and 437.

THIS volume has been prepared under somewhat peculiar circumstances. For nearly half a century the author has been in the habit of occasionally making memoranda of passing events; and when Mr. Williamson was writing his History of the State of Maine, Mr. Eaton furnished him with a notice of Warren. This notice, consisting of thirty or forty manuscript pages, he was subsequently advised to enlarge. Soon afterward he met with an accident which deprived him of sight, and confined him in a great measure to a room with an invalid daughter; and the parent and the child have spent several years in collecting and arranging the materials of which the volume is made. The daughter, with a modesty which can be appreciated by her friends, but which we think in this case she might with propriety have sacrificed, has not allowed even her name to appear, except on the map; and the reader does not know how many exhausting months she has cheerfully labored for his entertainment and instruction. The father, characteristically, says the "work is one of very humble pretensions." He adds: "Its primary object was the history of the town of Warren; but this, in its earlier stages, was found so blended with that of the neighboring places, that it was thought best to include a cursory account of their settlement, progress, and condition, down to their incorporation."

The work contains a narrative of events from 1605 to 1850. The topics are numerous and interesting. The coast was early visited by Pring, Champlain, Weymouth, and others. In 1614, Captain John Smith, of Pocahontas memory, spent several months there, and was so delighted, that, after his return to England, he published a book and map, and travelled over a great part of that country for the purpose of prevailing on the people to plant a colony at Monhegan or vicinity. This was before the landing of the Pilgrims.

For a long time St. George's was one of the frontier settlements. A few individuals were located there almost immediately after the landing at Plymouth. The fortifications were many times attacked by the Indians, and vigorously, and valiantly, and always successfully defended. On the spot where the fort was, now stands the mansion of the late Major-General Henry Knox, the confidential friend of Washington; and within a few rods of it are the graves and gravestones of men and women who died there before settlers had penetrated the wilderness

even to the distance of a few miles in the rear. The same spot was often visited by the Royal Governors of Massachusetts, long before the Revolutionary War; and there conferences with the Indians were repeatedly held. On the river and in the neighborhood, colonists from Ireland, Scotland, and Germany settled at different times, about the middle of the last century. Mr. Eaton has gone into a minuteness in details, which will command the admiration of antiquarians and make his book one of increasing popularity with each successive generation. How so much which is of general interest could have been collected by him, blind, without a superabundance of this world's goods, and at a distance from libraries, surpasses our comprehension. His success, however, shows what can be done by diligence and perseverance. The book contains many graphic descriptions. There is abundance of incident and anecdote. We are often struck with the beauty of the thought and the expression. We frequently find ourselves laughing at the humor; and before we are aware the tear is starting as we read the descriptions of the sufferings of the fathers and mothers of the settlements. The inhabitants on the St. George's owe to the author a debt which they can never repay. The family in that neighborhood which does not have a copy of the book for instruction and for reference must be ignorant of its value or incapable of appreciating it.

Collections of the American Statistical Association. Vol. I. Boston: T. R. Marvin. 1851. 8vo. pp. 596.

A NOBLE beginning of a most arduous work. The American Statistical Association does not propose to discuss theories, or foretell results; but to collect and arrange existing facts, thus becoming the reliable repository of authentic data. It is not a fountain but a reservoir. Historians, in all departments, may go to its resources and obtain the simple truth, unmixed with the errors with which selfish or blundering ignorance may have associated it. The difficulty in this labor is the long and accurate analysis of facts necessary to winnow truth from the chaff in which it lies concealed. To philosophical inquirers, what a comfort is it to know that intelligent and conscientious men are searching out, sifting, and proving the substantial media on which their most important and durable conclusions may be safely based. Statistical societies, which began with Achenwall, in Prussia, in 1749, have been established in every great capital of Europe, and by joint labors are, at this hour, recording facts which are to correct many gross errors of the past, and guide fu-

ture inquirers to new and safe results. The American Statistical Association had its origin in Boston; and it intends to visit and examine every State and Territory in our Union, and to secure authentic information upon every department of human pursuit and social condition. How important is this labor in a young country like ours, where half of all we do is experimental! The true inductions can be made, with the least chance of mistake, by a society of competent scholars, who can classify all the facts and who sit as a jury without bias.

The Association intends "to print its 'Collections,' from time to time, in numbers, or parts, as their funds will warrant. Each part will be complete in itself, and will be offered to purchasers without reference to those which may succeed." The first volume, now before us, contains the researches of perhaps a thousand minds, and all the documents have been examined by the society and prepared for publication by its secretary, Rev. Joseph B. Felt, whose gratuitous labors in this and kindred studies are beyond computation, and whose accuracy and faithfulness are equalled only by the generous and friendly aid he offers to every seeker after truth. We know of no man in New England who carries to these investigations a more patient spirit or a wiser discretion, a more profound learning or a broader charity. The volume before us is proof conclusive. We have space only for its table of contents: — "Statistics of Towns in Massachusetts." — "Heights, Latitudes, and Longitudes of Eminences in Massachusetts, above the Level of the Sea." — "Latitudes and Longitudes of Objects whose Positions have been determined by secondary triangles." — "Latitudes and Longitudes of Lighthouses in Massachusetts." — "Indexes to Part First." — "Statistics of Population in Massachusetts." — "Index to Part Second." — "Statistics of Taxation in Massachusetts, including Valuation and Population." — "Appendix." — "Indexes to Part Third."

The most valuable historical documents, compared with official contemporaneous reports, are gathered within this volume, and are accompanied with those references and illustrations of the compiler, which make the publication richer than gold to the lover of durable truth. Whoever would know the value of property, the systems of taxation, the course of law, and the origin of institutions, will find a rich treasury in this pioneer volume; and will be surprised to see how statistical facts disclose the exact latitude and longitude of the ship of state during every moment of her eventful voyage.

Life and Letters of Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Dane Professor of Law at Harvard University. Edited by his Son, WILLIAM W. STORY. Boston: Little & Brown. 1851. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 574, 676.

ONLY the first volume of this admirable biography of an excellent and an honored man appeared in season to allow of a perusal before our page goes to the press. We have been so charmed and interested by what we have read, that we feel no hesitation in pronouncing a high eulogium on the work. The editor's task has been turned into a service of love. The rich and abundant materials which he had at his hand have left him but little more to do than to arrange letters, and other expressions of opinion on public and private matters, whether in print or in manuscript, in the form of an autobiography. Indeed, Judge Story commenced at Washington, in 1831, an autobiographical letter addressed to his son, which is printed by portions in these pages, illustrated by such comments as were necessary to explain or to complete the information which it gives us. The editor is the only son, and now the only surviving child, of Judge Story. He has faithfully sought to repay his great filial indebtedness by consecrating his talents in more than one direction to his father's remembrance. The noble marble bust of Judge Story which adorns the Library Hall at Cambridge, and the drawing from which is copied the frontispiece of the work before us, are both the productions of the son's genius.

The charm of this biography to us lies in its frank and cordial spirit, its simple and unstudied manner, its ingenuous freedom of statement, and its complete portraiture of the heart and mind of its distinguished subject. In these respects the biography is in perfect harmony with the look, the character, and the whole life of him whom it presents to us anew. The succession of high honors through which he advanced — filling all places faithfully, and adding to their dignity — was well calculated to draw out his various natural endowments and to test his resources and hidden capacities. His warm, life-long friendships, and the transparent candor and hearty sincerity which he threw into his letters to his many correspondents, make those documents something very different from what we generally have in the constrained or cautious letters of prominent men. Perhaps some critics may question the prudence of putting into print a sentence which we have noted here and there, in which opinions are expressed on men and things connected with recent strifes or interests. But the entire lack of all unworthy motives or elements in the composition of his character makes it safer to

print all that Judge Story said or wrote, than it would be to allow the same liberty in the case of most men in public or private life.

Born of an honorable, though not of a wealthy parentage, Judge Story was indebted to his natural powers, and to his most faithful culture and exercise of them, for all his success in life. His youthful experiences in Marblehead — the town where he was born — are related with pleasant particularity. No one can read the account of his devoted toil in preparing to enter Harvard College, or of his noble aim and his kindly course of conduct when he was a student there, without feeling a glow of sympathy and admiration for him. His accomplishing in six weeks the tasks of a College class for six months, is an index to his whole character and course in life. How few of all the members of a class, as young as he was, pursue their course with that maturity of high purpose, with that forecast of the dependence of the whole future upon that stage of their training, which inspired and guided him! He won his first honors as a lawyer, not only through his own unaided efforts, but in spite of a severe professional and social prejudice against him on account of his political opinions. Religious bigotry likewise assailed him. He was one of the first prominent persons in this neighborhood who embraced and distinctly avowed Unitarian sentiments. He had been educated as a Calvinist, and the dark and repulsive features of that grim theology, which were not at all softened then, as they are now, by its advocates, drove him for a season into scepticism, from which he found relief and perfect religious peace through life in more Scriptural and ennobling views of the relations between God and man.

The narrative before us leads us on with constantly increasing interest to the various stages of an eminent and a useful career. Justice is done to the domestic virtues and to the private relations of the subject of the biography. His home experiences under the sad or the agreeable circumstances of life present him to us in a way to win our respect. His early successes at the bar were such as reward but very few, even of those whose ambition seeks them or whose arduous toil would seem to deserve them as a due requital. His unquestioned sincerity of purpose, and his unsullied integrity as a civilian, a legislator, and a judge, during times and amid occasions of bitter sectional strife and party jealousy, relieved him of most of that misconstruction or obloquy of which public men receive and inflict so much. And this fact is the more remarkable when we consider that Judge Story passed through that trying ordeal, a change in his political party relations.

We would commend these volumes to our readers as deserving of the very highest esteem on account of their subject and the mode in which he is offered to an enduring regard.

A Memoir of the Rev. John Edwards Emerson, First Pastor of the Whitefield Congregational Church in Newburyport, Mass., with Extracts from his Writings. By the Rev. RUFUS W. CLARK, Pastor of the North Church, Portsmouth, N. H. Boston: William J. Reynolds & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 406.

A BIOGRAPHY is of interest and value in the proportion in which it has for its subject the man himself, and not the accidents of his position; and in a moral and spiritual aspect the soul's life of the humblest denizen of the earth is of inestimably higher worth than the mere chronicle of the external events which constitute the history of the greatest man of his age. Tried by this standard, the book before us presents strong claims upon our Christian public. In outward experiences it is meagre; for its subject had hardly girded on his armor for the conflict with ignorance and sin, when he was summoned to a higher sphere of duty. Mr. Emerson was a child, a youth, a man of rare attractiveness of person and manner, of superior mental endowments and attainments for his age, and one whom none knew but to love, admire, and praise. Born in Newburyport, a graduate of Amherst College, educated for the ministry at Princeton, he was spared for a pastoral life in his native town of but little more than a year's duration, during the greater part of which, as a victim of consumption, he was measuring his rapid way to the grave. An earlier, more entire, and more harmonious self-consecration of one's whole being to the service of Christ we have never known. His Christian character seemed mature in childhood, venerable in youth; and, short as was his career, in spiritual influence, usefulness, active devotedness while any remnant of strength remained, eloquent example when all that he could do was meekly and hopefully to suffer the will of God, his life seems long and rich beyond the ordinary measure of threescore years and ten. From early boyhood, he was wont to record his devotional thoughts, resolutions, plans, and exercises; and these writings, together with numerous letters of similar purport, constitute the greater part of the volume before us. The biographer remains modestly in the background, so far as these materials suffice for his purpose; and supplies their deficiency in a chaste and simple narrative, redolent of the breathings of a kindred spirit, and constituting a beautiful memorial of Christian friendship, sympathy, and affection. As an incentive to early piety, as a *vade mecum* for the young disciple through the temptations of school and college life, as a suggestive manual for the pastor who would be faithful to the cause of his Master, as a source of the richest counsel and consolation to the sick and dying, we are acquainted with no religious biography worthy of warmer or

more unqualified commendation. Less than this we cannot say; — had not our pages for this number been preoccupied, we would gladly have said much more, and have given extracts which would have fully justified our praise.

A History of the Second Church, or Old North, in Boston. To which is added, A History of the New Brick Church. With Engravings. By CHANDLER ROBBINS, Minister of the Second Church. Published by a Committee of the Society. Boston: John Wilson & Son. 1852. 8vo. pp. 320.

THE spare hours of a wintry Sabbath were most delightfully occupied by us in the perusal of this volume. With the fresh impression of interest and instruction which it has left upon our minds, we would assure our readers that the annals of but few of our churches, rich as they are, afford such excellent materials for the historian. We have recently presented, in our pages of *Religious Intelligence*, some documents relating to a crisis in the history of the Second Church, and to its propitious result, in an arrangement which promises the highest religious prosperity. That result was just brightening before the hopes of pastor and people at the commencement of the third century of the history of their Church. The occasion favored the sacred obligation, — which has always been regarded as so just and attractive by the pastors of the older New England Churches, — of renewing the record of ancient days and of holy memories. Never has this obligation been discharged with a more genial alacrity, or with a more becoming spirit of wisdom, veneration, and love, than by Mr. Robbins. He has elevated the standard by which such performances have been judged.

There is matter of controversy in the volume. Into this we will not now enter further than to say, that Mr. Robbins has felt it his most solemn duty to protest against the delineation of the characters and course of Increase Mather and his son Cotton, which is given by President Quincy in his History of Harvard University. In the most respectful manner, and in terms of speech which show that fair justice, and not a professional or a chivalrous partiality for a predecessor, guides his pen, Mr. Robbins meets the duty which evidently was painful to him. We are impressed with the manliness and with the Christian sincerity of his method of dealing with a subject which brings into collision his sentiments of regard for the living and the dead. Indeed, we may say of the whole contents of the volume, that their spirit is eminently that of the Gospel, considerate and charitable to human weakness, appreciative of manifest sincerity un-

der every aspect, even when it disguises itself by foibles, and nobly alive to the claims of goodness, whether signalized by eminent achievements or attested only by a ruling purpose. We might quote from this book sentences and paragraphs which are really gems of literary composition, as well as beautiful expressions of just sentiment. The reading of the book has done us good, and has done that good to the best part of us. We rejoice that the ancient light set in a new candlestick diffuses such a fragrant and brightening gleam back into the past and on into the future.

Miscellanies. By the Rev. JAMES MARTINEAU. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. New York: Francis & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 472.

THE seven articles comprised in this book are upon themes of great intrinsic interest and weight; and are of equal practical and philosophical importance. They virtually constitute seven distinct volumes; for in the quantity of information they show, in the amount of labor they imply, in the ability of the various discussions they carry on, and in the justice and value of the criticisms they make and the conclusions they establish, they contain far more than seven of the common volumes written upon the subjects which they treat. For the benefit of such of our readers as have not seen these Miscellanies, we must briefly indicate the ground covered and the topics handled in them. A biographical account of the career and achievements, and a thorough estimate of the personal qualities, of Dr. Priestley; a similar article upon Dr. Arnold; an elaborate paper upon "Church and State," criticizing several writers on that subject, and giving an analysis of the distinctive origin and definite offices of those institutions; a review of Parker's "Discourse of Religion," including a full discussion of the relation between God and Law; a review of Newman's "Phases of Faith," examining with sufficient detail the leading elements of experimental religion and the personal position of Christ in the historic Christian religion; a critical dissertation upon the theological and political groundwork and structure, moral and religious inconsistencies and tendencies, and practical difficulties, of the "Church of England"; and, finally, in "The Battle of the Churches," a dissertation of the same character as the last, showing, in various aspects, the related ingredients and attitudes of the Church of England and the Church of Rome. Besides the contents hinted in this rapid outline, a multitude of minor questions and incidental thoughts are investigated with fulness of knowledge, richness of

faculty, and decision of stroke. Such are the themes considered; and as to the general manner in which they are examined and presented, we hesitate not to say, that no kindred contributions are to be found in the English language superior to these, — if any as meritorious.

We feel it a privilege and a duty to use whatever influence the present opportunity may give us in calling the attention of the American public to the writings of Mr. Martineau, for we think these writings ought to be in the acquaintance of all earnest aspirants after the love and lore of religion and theology. The rare merits of a great man — especially if he be at a distance, and be chiefly occupied with the highest subjects of thought, and on the advanced limits of those subjects — are but slowly recognized. Justice is not commonly done among us to the very great gifts, attainments, and claims of the author to whom we are now referring. His printed productions — composed of practical sermons, theological essays, and miscellaneous articles — would amount to about eight average-sized volumes; and they are, invariably, real contributions to the subject in hand, whatever it be. With all these writings we are quite familiar, having read or studied most of them many times. Therefore, if what we say of them be a misstatement, or an overstatement, of their claims, the error results not from haste or prejudice, but from personal inability correctly to measure the nature and amount of their actual merits.

One of the chief distinctions and aids of Mr. Martineau is the extent and thoroughness of his metaphysical knowledge and training. He has a copious command of the stores and forms of philosophical systems, an acuteness of discrimination, an assured strength and method of analysis and procedure, which betoken severe discipline in the mental gladiatorship of the schools, impart penetration and weight to every blow he strikes, and give him an advantage over most men at every step. Not that his powers and acquisitions are greater in the sphere of metaphysics than elsewhere. He is most of all remarkable for diversity and completeness of endowments, full fidelity of education, large range and perfection of accomplishments. No competent and unprejudiced person can read what he has published without being convinced that he possesses, in a rare degree, all the equipments of profuse learning and thorough culture; that he is a finished master of the best weapons of native genius, accumulated experience, and practised skill. Occasionally he manifests no small force of combined wit and humor, permeated by moral earnestness and invincible logic. Imagination in him is a power of wonderful comprehensiveness and fineness, interpenetrating all things with its wizard lights and shades. The rhetoric of his

choicest pieces is absolutely unequalled, within our knowledge, for its consentaneous variety, elevation, precision, brilliancy, and marvellous exuberance of exact scientific and gorgeous poetic imagery. To all these characteristics is to be added the crowning excellence of conscientious, persevering labor. These productions are essentially no extemporaneous effusions, but the matured results of hard work. Indeed, Mr. Martineau is one of those few moderns who seem to feel towards the public press as Cicero felt in regard to the Roman Rostrum, that it is right to bring "*nihil huc, nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria.*"

There is no monotony in Mr. Martineau's works; that is prevented by the balanced strength and delicacy, natural play and work, of all the spiritual powers at once, — none are dormant, but each contributes something. In his character and writings appear English observation and sense, Greek intellect and imagination, German heart and soul. He possesses a moral firmness, which, with resistless encounter, beats coarse systems of error prostrate; and a subtile instinct or intuition of right, which, with infallible aim, makes fatal ethical punctures in the most ingenious sophistry of bad moralists. His stern loyalty, even stoic consecration, spreads over his pages an atmosphere of duty so high and rare, that, while its holy purity braces the active energies, its seeming loneliness may feel frosty to the passive sympathies; but, at the same time, there are scattered at frequent intervals passages which demonstrate the existence in their author of mystic heights and depths of faith and fervor, — burning snatches from the rapt experience of a devotee, wondrous touches of pathos and saintliness that could have been written only by a pen dipped in the solemn tears of a pious heart. These works, it is true, display no fanatic heats, no mechanical excitements, no galvanic jumps of life; but they *are* characterized by a deep, persistent earnestness, a calmly intense and pervading vitality of feeling, which is as uncommon as it is healthy and sincere, and as profoundly beneficent to those who appreciate it as it is foreign to those who complain that this substance is cold and this style stilted.

The papers now offered to the public, with a neat and manly introduction by the Rev. Mr. King, betray the continual and varied presence of the qualities here enumerated. Though, perhaps, for ethical sharpness and breadth, none of them may be compared with the searching criticism of "Whewell's Scientific Morality"; for profound philosophical power and value, none of them with the grappling discussion of "Mesmeric Atheism"; for accurate and beautiful historic survey, concrete painting and argument, none of them with the unanswerable essay entitled "Europe since the Reformation"; and for magnificent exuber-

ance of matter, rushing fluency of style, brilliant originality of conception, and sharp offensive and defensive dialectics, with discriminating reference to the very van of present theological thinking and want, none of them with the masterly review of "The Creed of Christendom."

For the credit of the scholarly and reflecting men among us, we trust an immediate sale of the present volume will secure the publication, in rapid succession, of the remaining uncollected works of the author.

Swallow-Barn: or a Sojourn in the Old Dominion. By J. P. Kennedy. Revised Edition. With Twenty Illustrations by Strother. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 506.

We read this delightful romance of real life with a keen interest when it first appeared. On reviewing our impressions of it, we are first struck, somewhat sadly, with the thought of the rapidity with which even a few years will alter the aspects of life, and change the tone of manners. Mr. Kennedy has described, with all the charm of Goldsmith's pen, the hearty hospitality, the relishing freedom and vivacity, and the easy indolence of life in Old Virginia, in the days when it still retained the glory of its ancient repute. The richness of his delineations of domestic incidents, of out-door sports and occupations, and of the familiar intercourse of neighbors in those palmy days, makes us feel as if we had already in this country some of those bewitching associations of romance which we generally attach only to the homes of an older soil. If the Virginian characteristics are fading away into the past, as is commonly affirmed, Mr. Kennedy's admirable record of them in these pages will be sure to make his work a classic in our literature. We assure those who have not read it, that it will furnish them with a most genial pleasure for a winter fireside.

Alban: a Tale of the New World. By the Author of "Lady Alice." New York: G. P. Putnam. 1851. 12mo. pp. 496.

This book is to be followed by a "Sequel." It certainly needs one, and if it were filled with censures and corrections of the principles stated or implied in the volume before us, the "Sequel" would need to open no new incidents. The book is one of the religious (?) novels of our day, — for the most part,

an unhallowed and mischievous class of publications. Their religious views and processes often involve a trifling with the best-established moral principles.

Sixteen Months at the Gold Diggings. By DANIEL B. WOODS. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1851. 12mo. pp. 199.

COMPACT as this book is, it contains a great deal of interesting information; such as geography and history, journalizing on sea and land, personal adventure, an account of mining processes, with chemical investigations, and statistics of trade. The author, who is a Christian minister, is a reliable and competent narrator. His volume will be found both interesting and permanently valuable.

Greenwood Leaves: a Collection of Sketches and Letters. By GRACE GREENWOOD. Second Series. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields. 1852. 12mo. pp. 382.

THE lady who prefers to write under the title just given, rather than under her proper name, wields a vigorous pen and utters lively and earnest thoughts. She avails herself of the largest liberty now claimed for her sex in matters of opinion and in the expression of it. She is equally at home in a criticism of Jenny Lind, of the members of Congress, and of Christian ministers, whether preachers of "the lower law" or of "the higher law." The romances, which fill more than half of the volume, are made the vehicle of her moral sentiments and judgments upon the themes of present agitation in our social, political, and religious circles. There is no weariness or dulness in her pages.

The Autobiography of a Clock, and other Poems. By MARY CUTTS. Boston: Crosby & Nichols. 1852. 16mo. pp. 247.

WE have read the longest piece, which gives the leading title to this volume. It is a pleasantly rhymed narration of household experiences and the incidents of human life as witnessed by a family clock. That useful monitor starts, in its bright freshness of gilding, with a newly married couple, on the journey of life, and keeps the reckoning well, interspersing here and there a moral. Fashion, after a while, banishes it into a lonely corner, and as it passes from the ownership of the father to that of the son, it exchanges a town dwelling for the country. The poem has a very simple purpose, and it accomplishes it.

The American Almanac and Repository of Useful Knowledge, for the Year 1852. Boston: Little & Brown. 12mo. pp. 352.

This is the twenty-third volume of a series of yearly publications whose character and value are well established. The Editor, George P. Sanger, Esq., devotes pains — not unwearied certainly, but most faithful — to secure fulness and accuracy in the important tables and statistics which his work embraces. All that pertains to the yearly calendar of the heavenly phenomena which concern the earth is to be found here, and year by year this department of the Almanac is enriched by the results of keener and exacter scientific observation. The larger portion of the book is filled with economical and statistical information concerning the Union and the several States. Such details relating to the other portions of the globe as have a similar interest are briefly given. Those who are already acquainted with the work will need only to be made aware that the new volume is within their reach.

The Excellent Woman as described in the Book of Proverbs. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1851. 12mo. pp. 249.

The American reprint of this anonymous English work is presented to our public by a chaste, eulogistic introduction from the graceful and kindly pen of Rev. Dr. Sprague, — no poor warrant of its worth. It is illustrated with tasteful engravings, and printed with great clearness and beauty. The meaning of the thirty-first chapter of the Book of Proverbs — from the tenth to the thirty-first verse, comprising the celebrated Hebrew description of the virtuous wife — is explained with sufficient critical learning; and the chief traits in the character and conduct of an excellent woman are unfolded, and recommended, with good sense, force, and admirable taste and variety.

Memorials of the Life and Trials of a Youthful Christian in Pursuit of Health, as developed in the Biography of Nathaniel Cheever, M. D. By Rev. Henry T. Cheever. With an Introduction, by Rev. George B. Cheever, D. D. New York: Charles Scribner. 1851. 12mo. pp. 355.

The story here told, with the reflections interwrought, cannot fail to rebuke the selfishness, hardness, immoral scepticisms, and undevout moods but too likely to be found in all of us who shall

read it, and to quicken within us desires and purposes of more earnest and complete religious consecration. This is really high praise; and it is nearly all the commendation the book deserves. But, touched and strengthened as we have been by the perusal of the memorials, we have not the heart to stop and ungratefully point out what are, to us, displeasing faults of taste in the execution of the editor's task.

Utterance; or Private Voices to the Public Heart. A Collection of Home-Poems. By CAROLINE A. BRIGGS. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 255.

THESE pure and pleasing poems are evidently the effusions of a warm, sincere, and aspiring spirit. They take their theme, tone, and color from the simple and touching, the high and quickening, or the pathetic and solemn, realities of common life. "Home-poems" fitly are they entitled. "Voices of Affection," "Voices of Cheer," "Voices of Grief," "Sacred Voices," and "Voices by the Way," their "utterance" can scarcely be heard, and heeded, without producing emotions now animating, now saddening, but ever profitable and holy. We invoke success upon the fair author's adventure.

Elegant Illustrated Works published by the Messrs. Appleton of New York.

WE have observed from year to year a most striking improvement in the subject-matter and in the tasteful appearance of works designed for presents at the season of Christmas and New Year. None of our publishers have done more to promote this improvement than the Messrs. Appleton of New York. The demand for such works is very extensive, and the circumstances under which they are most generally bestowed makes it desirable that they should have an intrinsic value. This firm have a supply of two beautiful English works, "The Beauties of the Court of Charles the Second," and "Christmas with the Poets," the latter being peculiarly elegant and valuable. Of the original publications of the firm, we would especially mention the two following.

"The Women of Early Christianity" is a rich quarto volume of portraits, with illustrative letter-press by several American clergymen. The subjects are St. Cecilia, Martha, Petronilla, Flavia Domitilla, Felicitas, Potamiæna, Adelaide, St. Agnes, Catherine of Alexandria, the Empress Helena, Mary of Egypt,

Monica, St. Genevieve, Bertha, Abbess of Coldingham, Hilda of Whitby, and Editha. The only abatement of our high appreciation of this volume is the necessary admixture of the mythical and legendary element in most of its characters. This peculiarity, however, will not repel or injure those who know how to allow for it. Indeed, the theme makes it unavoidable.

"The Land of Bondage; its Ancient Monuments and Present Condition: being the Journal of a Tour in Egypt. By J. M. Wainwright." 8vo. pp. 190.

The distinguished and much respected author of this volume, in his former work, entitled "Pathways and Abiding-Places of our Lord," had illustrated those sacred localities which are associated with the bodily presence of the Saviour in the Holy Land. On the elegant pages before us, we have the record of his own personal observations in the land where the Israelites were in bondage four hundred and thirty years. The title of the book, however, is not chosen with sole reference to the captivity of the Israelites, for, as the author forcibly remarks, Egypt, beyond all other lands, "has witnessed the continual serfdom or slavery of its inhabitants." Taking his starting-point from Rome as the beginning of his narrative, Dr. Wainwright gives us many lively and instructive sketches of his tour, and of the ports upon his route before he reaches Egypt. The cultivated taste of the author, his long professional study of the literature of ancient days, and his discriminating judgment, give a charm and an authenticity to his statements. The exquisite illustrations of the topography and the antiquities of Egypt, in abundant engravings, contribute to enrich his volume. We commend it in the highest terms, as a gift-book that is sure to gratify the heart and the eye, and to improve the mind.

"Louis's School Days: a Story for Boys. By E. J. May." 16mo. pp. 325.

The author of this volume has endeavored to make fiction a vehicle for communicating not only the practical truths of morality, but also the methods of growth and influence through Christian principles. The basis of the religious theory on which it proceeds is, that man is born in sin, a child of wrath, estranged from God. In no form or shape can we countenance this abominable doctrine, which flings such an insult upon our Creator in alleging that he calls into existence successive generations of children who receive from him a corrupt and ruined nature. We go even further in our own detestation of such a doctrine, and we maintain that no one who actually and literally believes it will ever be instrumental in bringing into the world a victim of such a deadly taint. If the little infant over whose cradle we bend with such

affection is actually an embryo fiend, we must all affirm that the sooner our race can die out, the better will it be for the universe. The fact that the advocates of this doctrine do not hesitate or shudder in assuming the parental relation, is proof sufficient to our minds that they do not believe it *as they believe other things*; as, for instance, that it would be unsafe to construct "an infernal machine." Bating this worse than heathen theology, there is a human interest in this little book which will make it a favorite with boys.

"Legends of the Flowers. By Susan Pindar." 16mo. pp. 178.

This is a pretty book, most appropriate for a present to a little girl. Its theme is one, the charm and instruction of which can never be exhausted. Where there is not a natural taste for flowers, such books will help to form it, and in forming it will deck the mind and the heart in some of their innocent sentiments and beauties.

Messrs Crosby & Nichols have published, in two volumes (12mo, pp. 442, 440), "The Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons of Rev. Theodore Parker." Most of the contents of these volumes have already been before the public in separate pamphlets or in the newspapers. A sermon "*Of* General Taylor," (the reader will be careful to observe that the discourse was not written *by* the late President,) and an address on "The American Scholar," appear here for the first time. Mr. Parker's writings contain truths, often unwelcome, but most wholesome truths, expressed with all the earnestness and fidelity of an ancient prophet. From some of his opinions we dissent as heartily as we accord with him in others. His friends will be gratified by this collection of his scattered writings.

The same firm has published "The Christian Doctrine of Sin: an Essay. By James Freeman Clarke." 16mo. pp. 172.

Mr. Clarke has here dealt with the most glorious doctrine of the Gospel. He presents it in its most striking light as an original doctrine of revelation. He seeks to set it forth in the strictest accordance with the terms in which it was taught by Jesus Christ and his Apostles, and to trace its influence and effects upon the characters and lives of human beings. The author does not accept any one of the popular views upon this subject as commonly defined, but aims to unite the elements of truth in several of them. Had we more space left, we should be glad to follow Mr. Clarke through his interesting discussion. There is but little in the book which we should be disposed to controvert, or pause

upon with any hesitation to accept it. We thank him for this simple and forcible exhibition of views which seem to us eminently worthy of a more grateful and inquisitive examination. We shall be glad to receive from him similar essays upon other Christian doctrines. He has qualities of mind and a style of writing which are especially suited to such work.

James Munroe & Co. have published a new edition of that excellent manual, the "Elements of Logic," by Archbishop Whately. This edition is revised by the author, and, besides many alterations and amendments, contains a very large amount of new matter.

From the same publishers will soon appear two new stories by the very popular author of "A Trap to catch a Sunbeam," entitled, "The House on the Rock," and "A Merry Christmas." Also, "The Memory of Washington, with Biographical Sketches of his Mother and Wife; Relations of Lafayette to Washington; with Incidents and Anecdotes in the Lives of the two Patriots" (16mo, pp. 300), with two plates; — "The Greek Girl, in Two Cantos," by James W. Simmons; — and "The Poetical Fate-Book," by a Lady.

Messrs. Harper & Brothers have reprinted an English work under the title of "A Lady's Voyage round the World; a Selected Translation from the German of Ida Pfeiffer, by Mrs. Percy Sinnett." 12mo. pp. 302. One may go *round* the world without going over it, or seeing more than a very small part of it. Our lady traveller confines her descriptions chiefly to the Eastern continent, and the revelation of her own personality, as she expresses opinions, or records her adventures, makes the most interesting feature of her volume.

We had hoped before this to have devoted some of our pages to an examination of the Memoirs of the late Dr. Chalmers. It was originally promised by his biographer and son-in-law, Dr. Hanna, that the work should be completed in three volumes. The third, which had been delayed by the author's illness, has now appeared, and has been reprinted by the Messrs. Harper. In this we find promise of a fourth volume, to contain new materials of interest. We wait for its appearance.

*** From the multitude of pamphlets which have recently accumulated upon us, we select a few for very brief mention. The Oration delivered before the Literary Societies of Alleghany

College, in Meadville, Pa., July 1, 1851, by Rufus P. Stebbins, President of the Meadville Theological School, appears with the title, "Academic Culture." It is a vigorous and classical plea in behalf of high and thorough literary culture. Delivered at the time of our annual academic festivals, it unfolds the claims and the blessings of that kind of training which our institutions ought to afford, and presents the relations between such culture and the political, social, moral, and religious interests of our land.

"The Christian Martyrs, or the Conditions of Obedience to the Civil Government," is the title of a Discourse preached in West Bridgewater, by J. G. Forman, recently the pastor of the First Church in that place. The Discourse is a statement of the right and the duty of peacefully refusing to obey the law of the land when it is at issue with the law of God and the teachings of conscience. The argument is illustrated by the examples of the early Christian Martyrs, and is substantiated by quotations from eminent divines and civilians. Following the Discourse is, "A Friendly Letter to said Church and Congregation on the Pro-slavery Influences that occasioned his Removal."

"An Address before the Norfolk Agricultural Society, at Dedham, September 24, by George R. Russell," is a production which combines the skill of the practical farmer with the large observation of a widely experienced man, and the accomplishments of a scholar. No one can read this pamphlet without realizing the diversity and number of the elements which enter into any form of common sense and practical wisdom, and having some idea of the point at which labor and study, toil and skill, the work of the field and the lore of the library, unite to advance the health and wealth and virtue of the human race.

"Some of the Difficulties in the Administration of a Free Government, a Discourse pronounced before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Brown University, July 8, by William Greene." This Discourse touches delicately upon some tender points in the party strifes and the social discords of the present day, though it does not enter into the contest rudely, or in a way to offend. With the principles advanced in it, most minds will accord.

Rev. Joseph B. Felt, of this city, has written and published, "A Memoir, or Defence of Hugh Peters." This pamphlet, which deserves praise for its true antiquarian faithfulness, has a higher merit, as it vindicates the memory of a most devoted and suffering man from foul aspersions which his enemies — though not without previous contradiction — have long cast upon him.

INTELLIGENCE.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Ordinations. — Mr. Thomas J. Mumford, of the Theological School at Meadville, Pa., was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian Church at Detroit, Mich., on October 16. Introductory Prayer and Selections from Scripture by Rev. Mr. Winsor of Rockford, Illinois; Sermon by Rev. J. F. Clarke of Meadville; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Mr. Conant of Geneva, Ill.; Charge by Rev. G. W. Hosmer of Buffalo, N. Y.; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. Mr. Shippen of Chicago, Ill.; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Mr. Maxham, of Erie, Pa.

Mr. Horatio Stebbins, of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Colleague Pastor with the Rev. Calvin Lincoln, of the First Congregational Church at Fitchburg, on November 5. Introductory Prayer by Rev. J. F. W. Ware of Cambridgeport; Selections from Scripture by Rev. A. Smith of Leominster; Sermon by Rev. A. P. Peabody of Portsmouth, N. H.; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. C. Lincoln; Charge by Professor Noyes of Cambridge; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. J. F. Brown, West Cambridge; Address to the Society by Professor Francis of Cambridge; Concluding Prayer by Rev. Dr. Hill of Worcester.

Mr. Adams Ayer, of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian Church at Chelsea Ferry, on November 12. Introductory Prayer by Rev. Joshua Young of Boston; Selections from Scripture by Rev. Mr. Leonard of Chelsea; Sermon by Rev. R. C. Waterston of Boston; Ordaining Prayer by Rev. Calvin Lincoln; Charge by Rev. Dr. Gannett of Boston; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. S. H. Winkley of Boston; Address to the Society by Rev. F. T. Gray of Boston; Concluding Prayer by Rev. F. N. Knapp of Brookline.

Installations. — Rev. Claudius Bradford, late of Bridgewater, was installed as Pastor of the Congregational Church in New Salem, on November 9. Introductory Prayer and Selections from Scripture by Rev. P. Smith; Installing Prayer by Rev. Dr. Willard of Deerfield; Address to the Pastor by Rev. A. Harding, Chairman of the Committee of the Society, to which the Pastor elect replied.

Rev. Charles Robinson, late of Medfield, was installed as Pastor of the Congregational Church in Peterborough, N. H., on December 4. The Introductory Services and Sermon by Rev. J. H. Morison of Milton; Installing Prayer by Rev. C. Lincoln; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. L. W. Leonard of Dublin, N. H.; Concluding Services by Rev. Mr. Saltmarsh of Wilton.

Rev. Dexter Clapp, late of West Roxbury, was installed, as Colleague Pastor with Rev. Dr. Flint, over the East Church in Salem, on Wednesday, December 17. The Introductory Services were by Rev. O. B. Frothingham of Salem; Sermon by Rev. Dr. Putnam of Roxbury; Prayer of Installation by Professor Francis of Cambridge; Charge by Dr. Flint; Fellowship of the Churches by Rev. Dr. Thompson of Salem; Address to the Society by Rev. F. D. Huntington of Boston; Concluding Prayer by Rev. T. T. Stone of Salem.

Dedications. — A new house of worship for the Unitarian Society in Savannah, Ga., was dedicated on November 16. The Sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. Mr. Penniman; the other Services were by Rev. Dr. Gilman of Charleston, S. C., and Rev. Mr. Taggart of Nashville, Tenn.

A place of worship under the name of the "Preble Chapel," was dedicated in Portland, Me., on October 29. The edifice is erected for the purposes of the Ministry to the Poor in that city. The land was given by Madam Preble. The means for erecting the building were contributed by the two Unitarian societies, which support the Ministry. The Sermon on the occasion was preached by the Rev. R. C. Waterston of Boston, and has been published. Its theme is "Christianity applied to Cities." It was eminently suited to its purpose, and the earnest and effective treatment which it received from the preacher gave a new impulse to one of the most blessed works of our time. Rev. Dr. Bigelow and Rev. S. B. Cruft of Boston, Rev. O. C. Everett of Charlestown, Rev. Horatio Wood of Lowell, and Rev. W. H. Hadley of Portland, all in active service as Ministers to the Poor, were present and took part in the exercises of the occasion.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

*** Among the Gift-books for the young which appear in such numbers at this season of the year, we notice particularly the following: — "Tales of the Caravansary; or Companion Stories to Bardouc. Translated from the French of Sarrazin, by L. Willard." (Crosby & Nichols, 16mo, pp. 247.) From a cursory examination of this little volume, we think it will interest and instruct young readers, though it illustrates truth through heathen morals. — "Young Americans abroad; or Vacation in Europe: Travels in England, France, Holland, Belgium, Prussia, and Switzerland. With Illustrations." (Gould & Lincoln, 16mo.) Here we have something of a novelty, at least in the form in which tourists present their observations. Three pupils travelling with their tutor, Rev. Dr. Choules, write home letters to a fellow-pupil, and here we have them in print. — "The Island Home; or the Young Castaways. Edited by Christopher Romaunt, Esq." (Gould & Lincoln, 16mo, pp. 461.) A book of most attractive contents for those young readers who, after exhausting Robinson Crusoe, ask for more of the same sort.

ERRATUM.

In the translation of Rückert's "Bethlehem and Golgotha," page 443 of our last number, at the fifth line from the bottom, for "race" read "line." The rhyme will thus be restored.

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER.

No. CLXX. FOR MARCH, 1852.

Writers.

Article I.	— Rev. John Cordner	Montreal, Canada.
„ II.	— Rev. Thomas Hill	Waltham.
„ III.	— Prof. C. C. Felton	Cambridge.
„ IV.	— Edward Jarvis, M.D. . . .	Dorchester.
„ V.	— Rev. Edward E. Hale . . .	Worcester.
„ VI.	— Rev. Ephraim Peabody, D.D.	Boston.
„ VII.	— Thomas Bulfinch, Esq. . .	Boston.
„ VIII.	— C. C. Smith, Esq.	Boston.
„ IX.	— Rev. Jas. W. Thompson, D.D.	Salem.

*** Subscribers who receive the "Examiner" by mail are reminded, that, by paying their postage quarterly in advance, they are entitled to a discount of one-half from the established rates.

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William Edmondstoune Aytoun.

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THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MARCH, 1852.

Art. I. — BALMES ON CIVILIZATION.*

This book is a Spanish production, and of a kind by itself. It supplies a want which must have been sensibly felt in Catholic literature, and stands in a place which has not hitherto been occupied, as far as we know, by any book in any language. Works of common controversy we have had in abundance, learned and popular, direct and indirect, treatise and tale, — all aiming to set forth and establish the antiquity, authority, and essential unity of the Roman Church. That these have had their effects on certain orders of minds need not now be told. In times like the present, when such immense latitude is taken in discussion, — when the questioning of so many minds seems to be limitless, — when scepticism in some quarters has risen to the questionable dignity of a fashionable thing, — it was only to be expected that minds of a certain cast should experience uneasiness for its ultimate effects on religion, and religious institutions, and general society. We have heard one say, who changed his Protestantism for Romanism, that "the future is im-

* *Protestantism and Catholicity compared in their Effects on the Civilization of Europe.* By the Rev. J. Balmes. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1851.

possible, — we must go back to the past." Protestantism, with the questioning and scepticism which grow out of its fundamental principle of freedom, they look upon as a dissolving element in society, and they betake themselves to the old church organization as a centre of union, and strength, and safety. Their idea of social progress is that of passing round a circle, Rome (which they receive as a synonyme for religion) being the fixed centre. Minds of this order, while yet apart from Rome, are in the position of perplexed social philosophers, and any specious offer to relieve them from their difficulty they are not unwilling to accept. Others, again, are disconcerted by doubts concerning their personal faith and spiritual safety. From some mental peculiarity, they cannot reach a satisfactory certainty on these points. They are prone to doubt, and have even a proclivity to deny. They are not happy, for a state of doubt is a state of painfulness. They become impatient for certainty, and while in this state a plausible argument on church authority, such as an ingenious Catholic knows so well how to utter or write, tells with powerful effect upon them. A Teaching Church, pronouncing precisely what is to be believed, an infallible oracle, a spiritual guide in a living priest, — here all difficulty is removed; doubt can have no longer any place. To go behind this Teaching Church too curiously, and scrutinize the length and breadth of its claims, would only augment perplexity, possibly beyond limit, and so it is prudently avoided. Others yet again, not being fortunate in their associations with Protestantism, have never had their sensibilities deeply moved under it, and naturally become dissatisfied. The Catholic forms attract and impress them. Tales of Catholic piety deepen the interest. From the dogmas of Rome they revolt, yet they are held by the charm of sentiment. But as Romanism must be received in its totality, and as the feelings are already enlisted on its side, any recommendation or argument which makes the remainder tolerable is welcomed. And still another class, having been brought up in mere nominal Protestantism, — having heard the Roman doctrine of authority emphatically taught from professedly Protestant pulpits, — have readily passed over to Rome, where the absurdity of the Protestant claim in this respect was

revealed to them. The Church of England gave special prominence to church authority in her teaching, yet, when lately put to the test, could not settle the very important question of baptismal regeneration. Her weakness and inconsistency thus made known, her children who received the doctrine of church authority from her lips naturally enough passed over to the older organization of Rome, which consistently maintained the authoritative claim. Under all the circumstances of the present times, then, we do not think it strange that Rome should exhibit some special prosperity. Many of the causes which have contributed to this result have lain deep, and been long at work. The seed has been long silently growing, and in this age it is our lot to witness the harvest.

Rome is still Rome, nor has she forgotten any of her accustomed tact. She is greatly elated by her present successes, and loudly sounds her trump of victory to encourage the faithful, and attract the hesitating. A prominent prelate of her communion has lately made a vast flourish about "the decline of Protestantism." He gives it scarcely another century to exist. It ought to be remembered that the inspiration of the pallium was fresh upon him when he spoke. It requires a strong and well-adjusted mind to bear unusual honors with composure. Not very long before the arrival of the pallium in this country, and the subsequent cry of the decline of Protestantism, the Pope himself, on the other side of the Atlantic, had been exhibiting another side to the question. "It is most painful to see," he publicly stated, "that there is being introduced into all Catholic Italy, and even into the centre of Christianity, Protestantism, not by one accomplice, but by thousands and tens of thousands of accomplices." In considering Catholicism and Protestantism, with respect to the augmentation or decline of either, we shall only obtain a false view by confining our observation to any particular country, or class of countries. Just now, England is the favorite field of the champions of Catholicism. Conversions have been abundant there, through the training of Tractarianism. Coronets, even, have passed to Rome, and many of the Anglican clergy and gentry. All these have been duly chronicled and magnified. In America there have been conversions,

but not on a very extensive scale. Let all these be carried to the credit side of Rome, but against them we have to place the anti-Roman movements in other countries. Ronge's letters on the Holy Coat of Treves moved more minds than the ablest of the Oxford tracts. Six thousand people, despite violence and danger, thronged to hear Czerski at Posen, and a greater number elsewhere to hear Ronge, — masses far more numerous than ever flocked to the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. It is true that Rome has a consolidating power which enables her to render her accessions more fixed and effective for her purposes than any form of protest against her can be, over those who participate in it, in an opposite direction. This, we know, is her boast. But Protestantism, whether it go by the name of German Catholicism or any other name, must accept the drawback of divided counsels for the sake of freedom.

We have no fear for the result. We do not share the apprehensions sometimes expressed of the growing influence of Rome. The Catholicism of Rome is evidently on the increase in certain places, but it is as evidently decreasing in certain other places. The difficulty of procuring precise data debars us from pronouncing any definite and certain judgment; but, from all we can gather on this subject, our fixed opinion is, that the decrease is much greater than the increase, and that the Catholicism of Rome, in this age, is extensively declining. We could wish that the fruits of protest against it were always more of a character that we could sympathize with and commend. That they are not, however, does not affect the main point now referred to.*

Amid all the controversy of these latter times, however,

* A good deal has been said and written concerning the recent conversion of the premier duke of England (Norfolk) from the Roman Church, and in our humble opinion quite too much importance has been attached to it. We see something of far greater importance in the statement of the Bishop of Cashel, made some time since at the anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, that, in Ireland, there had been not less than ten thousand converts from Catholicism. A correspondent of the London Times, too, has recently stated, that, such was the increase of the "German Catholics" in Austria, the government had determined to dissolve their organization. This step was taken in consequence of their free political tendencies. The Saxon government has acted in a like manner towards them. The same writer states, that fully one third of the Catholics of Germany share their opinions, even if they do not openly profess them.

between Catholicism and Protestantism, one thing was so obvious, that it must needs have made a marked impression on thoughtful minds. This was the difference of social and civil condition, and political position, which was visible between Protestant and Catholic countries. While the former were alive with activity and progress, the latter were decrepit and stationary. England and the United States stood in marked contrast with Italy, Spain, and South America. Obviously, there were different elements at work in these two classes of countries, which produced and manifested in their respective spheres their proper and peculiar fruits. Learned arguments on church authority, and apostolical succession, on the unity of the faith, and the efficacy of the sacraments, — beautiful stories of ideal excellence made actual in the convent and the cloister, — the charm of Catholic pageantry, and the far higher charm of Catholic art, — the marvellous phenomena of holy coats, winking images, and bleeding pictures, — all these might be presented and produce their results, some on minds of one order, some on minds of another order; but in view of them all, and bearing against them all, stood this patent fact stamped on the face of the civilized world, that the Protestant nations were in advance of the Catholic nations, both in the development of the individual man, and in that of the general and various resources of society.

This was a standing argument against the Roman Church, and scarcely any attempt was made to meet it. The battle between it and Protestantism was commonly waged on grounds less practical. In this work of Balmes, however, we see a vigorous attempt made to supply the deficiency. The writer was stimulated to its accomplishment by the appearance and wide circulation of Guizot's Lectures on Civilization. He naturally dreaded the effects of such a work on his countrymen, the Spaniards. His treatise is conceived and carried out in a very different spirit from that of Guizot. Balmes is a Spaniard, a Catholic, and an ecclesiastic, and his book bears the impress of its origin throughout. Guizot writes as a philosophic historian, Balmes as a religious partisan. Guizot's view is comprehensive and candid; he collects the facts of history, scrutinizes their relations, and, like a presiding judge, pronounces his decision. Balmes, what-

ever be his view, rises no higher than a partial pleader. The French historian can see both good and evil in the Roman Church, and, looking at her calmly, accords to her an important place as an agent in the world's civilization. The Spanish writer can see nothing wrong either in the present condition or past history of that Church, — can see in her the only instrument of civilization, and can find in Protestantism nothing but what is evil, — a hellish commission for marring the homogeneity of human civilization as it approached its culminating point, and plunging it into a retrograde state.

Fixed and universal as Catholicism is in Spain, our author was not without his fear for its weakness towards Protestantism. Indeed, it was this fear, as we learn from the preface, which was his chief motive in writing this work. He is a politician as well as a religionist, and looks upon religion as a strong national and protective bond. If Spain were to become infected with Protestantism, she might possibly fall a victim to the diplomacy of England, and pass from her present nationality into the character and condition of an English province. Such is the scope of a portion of his argument. On the advantages of Catholicism and the disadvantages of Protestantism, his work is sufficiently exhaustive. But on the other side he is most meagre. Indeed, to his eyes, there seems scarcely to be another side. Protestantism has no advantages. Catholicism has no disadvantages. This want of candor is the radical vice of his book, as it is of all productions of the same school. Balmes is too good a Catholic to utter any thing which would afford ground of scandal. He avails himself of Protestant admissions to strengthen his own arguments, while yet his whole book is constructed on the supposition of the unworthiness of Protestant testimony and history. He takes good care that no Protestant writer shall obtain any advantage from his admissions. For he makes none. Yet we are not sure that he might not have had some, perhaps many, to make. But he would not venture the candid utterance of his opinions. He would allow only so much to appear as would clearly suit his one-sided purpose of upholding the Roman Church. In the closing paragraph of his book he says: "Before publishing my work I submitted it to the examination of ecclesiastical

authority; and without hesitation I complied with the slightest hint on its part, purifying, correcting, and modifying what had been pointed out as worthy of purification, correction, or modification." And, like a faithful son, he promises to modify still further, whenever church authority may require it. It is clear that a book produced under such circumstances cannot command universal confidence. The author professedly submits his work to be edited and corrected by one of the parties immediately interested in the pending controversy, and consents to modify statements, and abandon conclusions, (and why not also to suppress facts?) as he shall be directed. Such a production can never rise to a higher dignity than a partial plea. It can command the respect and confidence of none save those who submit to a similar mental bondage with the author. And the fact that the Roman Church can, and does, thus interfere with the candid expression of opinion, is standing proof against her in the premises. Such interference is a serious bar to the intellectual advancement and general civilization of the world.

The book before us, as might be expected from its character, has been extensively circulated. It was published originally in both Spanish and French, and has been subsequently rendered into English and Italian. It is the work of an acute and furnished mind, — a mind which, if it had been trained to honesty and independence of thought and utterance, might have produced a performance of generally acknowledged value and historical importance. The author died young, having attained scarcely thirty-eight years of age. Only eight years was he known as a public writer. His life was one of study; much of it was spent in retirement, some of it in the active duties of a political writer and a priest of the Church. We can harbor no doubt of the sincerity of our author's convictions. His whole education was thoroughly Catholic. His biographer informs us, that in his infancy he every morning had the benefit of his mother's prayers "to St. Thomas of Aquin, imploring this illustrious doctor to obtain for her son the gifts of sanctity and knowledge." He was early called to the ecclesiastical state, and had a benefice at fourteen years of age. At sixteen he entered the University of Cervera, and spent four years there,

"reading no other works than the Sum of St. Thomas, and the Commentaries upon it by Bellarmine, Suarez, and Cajetan." The enthusiastic student thought his mother's favorite, the Angelic Doctor, knew all things, and had told all things. "Every thing," said he, "is to be found in St. Thomas, — philosophy, religion, politics; his writings are an inexhaustible mine." Such was his earlier training. But subsequently he extended his reading to history, poetry, politics, &c. St. Thomas Aquinas, however, had evidently obtained the upper place in his mind, and formed its character. Residing in a remote district of Spain, and aloof from Protestantism, he was led to look upon it as the source and sum of all evils. Resistance to authority he sets down as the sure mark of heresy. His eye saw in the troubles of France the working of the Protestant element, and he was filled with anxiety and alarm. He sees no religion in Protestantism. He will not recognize any religion apart from the Roman Church. Acting on the false principle of certain Trinitarians with respect to Unitarianism, he refuses to recognize in Protestantism any thing but a system of negation. Whatever residuum of religion yet remains among Protestants, remains there in spite of their system, but must pass away, since Protestantism has no power to perpetuate it. Protestantism he regards as a dissolving element in society, and at one period of especial excitement and anxiety of mind he predicted a return to barbarism, "unless things would take some unexpected turn through the special interposition of Providence."

So much we have noted concerning our author, to the end that our readers might have some knowledge of the source from which the work before us emanated. The topics introduced in his work are various and very important, but from his partial point of view he cannot discuss them with satisfaction to an independent thinker. The Church of Rome which pervades his pages is not the actual church of history, but a church of ideal perfection. In the title which he has given to his book we see a want of discrimination, or a want of candor. No proper comparison can be made between Catholicism and Protestantism in their effects on the civilization of Europe. The latter has no separate historical existence prior to the sixteenth century. But the foundations of European

civilization were long laid, and its superstructure far advanced, before that time. Historical Protestantism, then, is evidently cut off from any share in the work until a comparatively recent period. Prior to the sixteenth century, and during the important forming period of modern European society, the Christian ideas had their expression through the church organization of Rome, it being the only one then historically known. To the influence of these ideas are we indebted for all proper social advancement, — the elevation of woman, the suppression of slavery, the modification of war practices, benevolent association, and the like. But to assume the exclusive right of the Roman Church to these ideas, and the identity of Romanism with Christianity, and then set up a comparison of effect between an institution which had existence, and an institution which had no existence, is evidently fallacious. Yet this is just what our author has done. He has noted, after his own manner, the influence which Christianity has had on the civilization of Europe, and appropriated that influence to the Roman Church as if it were her exclusive and inalienable right. This he calls the influence of Catholicism. And then he calls on Protestantism (of course he means historical Protestantism), while yet its name was unknown, to show what it has done in the like premises. "The Catholic Church," he says, "accomplished in Europe the immense work of the abolition of slavery." And then, addressing the Protestant churches, he asks with a triumphant tone, "Can you present any such claim entitling you to the gratitude of the human race? What part can you claim in that great work which prepared the way for the development and grandeur of European civilization? Catholicity alone, without your concurrence, completed the work." In the elevation of woman, too, he says, "Catholicity cannot have had Protestantism as a coadjutor." It was the Catholic Church, also, which founded establishments of beneficence. Protestantism had no share in their origination. The *ad captandum* is worthy of Father Prout. "Saint Paul wrote a letter to the Romans," thus it is said that distinguished man addressed a congregation of the faithful, — "Saint Paul wrote a letter to the Romans, but he never condescended to take any such notice of the Protestants."

We did not take up this book for the purpose of analyzing it. To do so would require more time and more space than we can command at present, and, we are free to add, a larger amount of a peculiar kind of learning than we can pretend to. Our author deals largely with the Catholic doctors, and is prone to challenge proof of this and that from their pages, though he is careful to state that the Catholic Church will not hold herself responsible for their opinions and teachings. What a variety of convenient devices the Catholic advocate has always at hand to shelter himself, and preserve his position! There is no such thing as reaching him. There is always some skilful contrivance for shifting any evil responsibility away from the Church. Though history should reveal its fearful testimonies of fire and sword against her, and show her garments stained with blood, all this goes for nothing, — the Church is still intact. She is still the pure spouse of Christ. "The massacre of St. Bartholomew and such atrocities," coolly writes our author, "ought not to trouble the apologists of religion." "I repeat," he says elsewhere, with reference to the Inquisition, "that the Catholic religion is not responsible for any of the excesses which have been committed in her name." Yet he fails not to ring the changes on the excesses of Munzer and the German peasants, and considers his position much strengthened by charging them home on Protestantism. When Protestantism is in question he strains at a gnat, but with Catholicism he can swallow a drove of camels. His Catholic prejudices are constantly blinding his judgment. With an air quite philosophical, he finds in Protestantism, or resistance to authority, only an ordinary phenomenon of the human mind, which the peculiar circumstances of the sixteenth century developed to a very disastrous extent. But with all his philosophy he fails to perceive in Popery, or the desire to rule, any such ordinary phenomenon of the human mind, developed and strengthened by special circumstances. John Wesley is written down a fanatic, and this by a man who would, doubtless, regard Simon Stylites as a saint. No name is too bad for Martin Luther. He is "a son of perdition," "a man commissioned by hell," who went about "everywhere exciting the flame of sensuality." Our author is strongly inclined to sus-

pect that the leaders of the Reformation "laughed at all Christian faith." To dispute the temporal power of the Pope is sufficient to lay a man open to the imputation of suspicious motives. To call in question the infallibility of the Church is enough to destroy any man's claim to be believed. Llorente was archivist of the Supreme Council and Tribunal of the Inquisition, and from the original documents in his charge wrote a history of that institution. But our author demands, "Does he who contests the infallible authority of the Church, and does not hold the first four Œcumenical Councils to be legitimate, deserve the least credit when writing the history of the Inquisition?"

We have already intimated that the issue set forth in the title of the book cannot be fairly discussed, from the fact of the different conditions of the historical existence of the two systems of religion in Europe. We claim for Christianity all the humanizing and civilizing influences which the writer before us claims for it. And we claim also for Protestantism a participation in that Christianity. In all that has been accomplished in European civilization we see the action of the positive religion of Protestantism, though it was not historically known by this name prior to a given point of time. But this claim does not exclude the Roman Church from a like participation, — certainly not the Roman Church prior to the sixteenth century, when it represented the whole of Western Christendom, nor the Roman Church subsequent to the great separation of Western Christendom, when it took its place in history as a portion only of the great whole, — Protestantism then taking its place in history, likewise, as the other portion of the great whole? The corruptions of Rome raised a barrier in the common stream of Christianity, which divided its waters, so that since the Reformation they have continued to flow in two distinct channels. The reliance so commonly placed by Catholic advocates on the unbroken historical existence of the Roman Church has always seemed to us greatly exaggerated. "The existence of the Catholic Church for eighteen hundred years," says Balmes, "in spite of so many powerful adversaries, has always been regarded as a most extraordinary thing." Here we observe one of those convenient fallacies in which writers of this class are so

prone to indulge, and by which they mislead the unwary and uninformed. The identity of the Catholic Church, properly so called, with the Roman Church, is assumed, and through this assumption a very imposing, but incorrect, statement is made. Any tyro in ecclesiastical history knows that the Roman Church did not, even outwardly, represent the Universal Church in the early centuries of Christianity. A train of circumstances, political and local, easily recognized in history, shows how Rome acquired predominance, and how she was enabled to maintain it. To speak, then, of the Roman Church as if it possessed, prior to the fourth century, all the power which it possessed in the tenth, is to misrepresent facts, and mislead those who trust to such guidance. The Church at Rome, and of Rome, has existed, however, in some form or other, for eighteen centuries. During the greater part of this time she has had predominance over the other churches of the West. But in the earlier centuries she was but a portion of the great Christian community, equal with the rest. At the present time, and during these later centuries, she is but a portion of the great Christian community, — a sect among sects.

We know how unpalatable a statement like this will be to the Roman Catholic mind. So accustomed have Roman Catholics been to identify Christianity with an outward institution and forms, that they can hardly conceive of it under any other aspect. To leave the outward institution of the Roman Church is, in their eyes, to forsake the fountain of grace. The fact of the peculiar historical existence of that Church is, to them, a marvel which can only be explained by the admission of its superhuman character. "We ask those who see in Catholicity," writes our author, "only one of the innumerable sects by which the earth has been covered, ... to explain to us how the Church has been able to show us a phenomenon, constantly existing, so opposed to the ever-varying spirit of the human mind." We believe it would not be so difficult to account for its existence on natural principles as its partisans suppose. Its leading object is to maintain its own dominion. It never loses sight of this for a moment. And to this end, it accommodates itself with wonderful wisdom to those varieties of human character which else might come into

conflict with it, directly or indirectly. To those who love solitude it offers solitude. To those who love society it offers society. To those who require a rigid religion it can offer one most rigid. And to those who require an easy form it can offer one sufficiently easy. The weak mind it can dazzle with its showy ceremonies, the ignorant mind it can awe by its sacerdotal mysteries, and even minds more cultivated it can interest by availing itself of the aid of the arts,—of music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. For the humble child of God it can gently fan the flame of piety. To those of a self-denying cast of mind it can offer the monastic life and the vow of poverty. To those of an ambitious spirit it can offer the place of princes, a cardinal's hat, or the chair of Peter. For the more generous and devoted, who desire to spend their lives for the good of their kind, it opens up some fraternity of charity or sisterhood of mercy. To a more restless class of spirits it offers shrines and pilgrimages. In this way does the Roman Church adapt itself to the varieties of the human character, and thus has it perpetuated its existence. And when all such accommodations fail, carnal weapons are freely resorted to. By the admission of Balmes, in the book before us, it was the atrocities of Philip the Second and the Inquisition which secured to that Church its present degree of predominance in Europe. For our author is the earnest apologist and defender of Philip, and his diabolical policy of the Inquisition. "In him," he writes, "was personified the *policy of the faithful ages*, amid the vertigo which, under the impulse of Protestantism, had taken possession of European policy." In this expression we discover one answer to the question which the writer had before propounded.

"What would have happened to Europe," he continues, "if Protestantism had been introduced into Spain as into France? if the Huguenots had been able to count on the assistance of the Peninsula? And what would have happened in Italy, if she had not been held in respect by the power of Philip? Would not the sectaries of Germany have succeeded in introducing their errors there? Here I appeal to all men who are acquainted with history, whether, if Philip had abandoned his much-decried policy, the Catholic religion would not have run the risk of finding itself, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, under the hard ne-

cessity of existing only as a tolerated religion in the generality of the kingdoms of Europe?" *

"When Protestantism appeared in Europe," avers our author, "the work of civilization was bordering on completion." We find it difficult to conceive on what grounds this statement is made. What are we to understand by civilization? "The simultaneous perfecting of the individual and of society," writes he in another place. Now on this definition we are totally at a loss to see how the former assertion can be sustained. Certainly his book, notwithstanding the variety of topics discussed, does not show us. Had he satisfactorily illustrated this point, much of his declamation might be excused. If it could have been done at all, it might have been done, we think, in a work of smaller compass than that which he has produced.

The first thing which strikes us in reflecting on civilization is, that it is something distinct from barbarism, — something opposite to barbarism. Man in a condition of barbarism adopts the rudest and readiest methods to satisfy his first and most pressing wants. He gathers the nuts as they fall from the tree, and eats them, or grubs the roots from the ground for the same purpose. The sight of the fish in the stream tempts him to snare it, and by such means is his ingenuity taxed and called forth. He has strong imperious passions which involve him in strife, and so he soon seeks implements of warfare. But these are of a rude kind. And he scorns control. He

* What the sword of Theodosius did in the fourth century the rack and fagot of the Inquisition did in the sixteenth, and both may be taken as, in part, (in part, we say,) symbolic of the perpetuation of the Catholic power. The active period of the Inquisition was, indeed, the reign of terror in Spain. In this country alone, according to Llorente, there were 341,021 persons who suffered under it, of whom 31,912 were burned alive. Now this "much decried," this awful and atrocious policy, may have been necessary, as the Catholic writer insists, to secure the predominance and perpetuation of the Papal religion, but it shows, at the same time, how foreign its spirit is to that of Christianity. We need not say here, that Jesus would not call fire from either heaven or earth to destroy men. And if Catholic partisans are thus found extenuating and defending the policy of the Inquisition, the effect, perhaps, will be to make reflecting men begin in earnest to find resemblances between those who murdered in the name of reason and those who murdered in the name of religion, and to inquire whether Danton and Dominic, Robespierre and Torquemada, have not all a strong family likeness.

cherishes a wild independence, rarely yielded up except to secure some transient purpose of plunder or passion. In some such way should we hastily set forth the condition of barbarism. In such a condition we see man as an individual, but scarcely as a social being. In a condition of civilization we see the rude passions of man tamed down, and placed under salutary control. We see the various energies which belong to his nature more wisely guided. He reflects, and utters the results of his reflection. He invents and enjoys the fruits of his invention. He feels his inward powers growing and expanding, and he rejoices in their growth and expansion. He obtains clearer views of the relation he sustains to his fellow-men. Communities are formed; cities are built; laws are made; governments are organized; labor is divided; and so one class helps another. The men of thought aid the men of work, and the men of work, again, assist the men of thought. Hence spring progression and development. Now all come to see more clearly, and understand more practically, the meaning of the original command spoken by God when he gave man dominion over the air, earth, and sea, and desired him to "subdue" them. They put in the plough. They dig the mine. They erect the mill. They build the ship. They construct the steam-engine. They stretch the lightning-wire. Now, too, they come to see more clearly, and understand more practically, the value of knowledge, and how, by lack thereof, the people are destroyed. And so they explore yet farther, and seek yet more. They test men and things. They put wholesome questions to teachers and rulers. They calculate and experimentalize. They adjust the microscope and point the telescope. They see and appreciate the sublime and beautiful in nature. They feel and appreciate the deep and tender sympathies of humanity. Hence spring the imitative and expressive arts, — sculpture, painting, poetry, music, — which soften, refine, exalt, and civilize man.

It is one of the characteristics of barbarism to remain stationary. But progression and development are essential characteristics of civilization. In its action civilization has a twofold effect, on the individual and on society. And in its progressive operation these two — the individual and society — act and react upon each other,

imparting mutual aid. The attainments and wisdom of the individual go to improve the condition of society, and the improved condition of society, again, favors and promotes the best growth of the individual man. In a word, by civilization we understand that condition of society in which the varied faculties of the individual receive their highest and best development, and in which society itself is stimulated to a healthy and properly directed progress.

This is our idea of civilization, and we derive it from a consideration of the nature of man, and from the command of God. That man has been invested by his Creator with certain faculties and powers is very plain. This being so, these faculties and powers must have been designed for an end. To deny this is to impeach Infinite Wisdom. Abused and misdirected these powers may be, but no argument can be thence drawn against their legitimate use and direction. Man has been placed by his Creator upon this earth, as upon a great theatre of action. Vast stores and wonders it contains, adapted to his convenience and comfort. But these do not lie upon the surface. They require to be sought and searched for, — the earth requires to be scrutinized, and "subdued," before they can be reached. "Replenish the earth and subdue it," said the Lord God, "and have dominion over fish and fowl, over sea and air." Thus from the first was the human being called to grapple with difficulties, and overcome obstacles. From the demand thus made by divine arrangement upon the human faculties they are called into use and exercise, and thus strengthened and developed.

But all history testifies what sad mistakes unaided man made in the course of his development and progress. Left to himself he transgressed the divine commands which he received, and the highest laws of his own nature. He fell under the dominion of sense and passion. In bondage to sense, spiritual realities faded away from his vision. The saving idea of a perfect spiritual God was no longer recognized, but stars, Baalim, golden calves, were worshipped, and the countless fanciful divinities which ancient mythology reveals. In bondage to sense man fell under bondage to ignorance, and destruction came upon him through lack of knowledge.

Still the Creator did not forsake the creature. Through specially appointed channels his will was made known. The Hebrew nation was made the depositary of revealed truth, and while its faith in this, and loyalty to it, remained, that nation shone as a light in the world. But the Hebrew nation was still human, and made most mournful backslidings. Although the grand moral and spiritual ideas given to its keeping had many faithful witnesses in the worst of times, yet it passed into formalism, and a neglect of those higher laws wherein resided the elevating and saving power.

The world lies morally diseased. A renovating influence is required. In process of time this came. Through Christ we have a new moral and spiritual life projected into the life of the world, which is henceforth to play an important part in its advancement and civilization. When uttered and upheld in sincerity and truth, the power of the Christian ideas was wonderful. It undermined and overthrew the prevailing hierarchies, principalities, philosophies, and prejudices of the world. But scarcely has it got settled in its new dominion, when a check is put upon its influence and development. This check comes from human pride and passion, brought into close connection with itself. A Christian hierarchy appeared, manifesting the worst spirit of a hierarchy, fired with ambition, and the love of show and rule. The power of the ancient evil raises its head with fresh strength in the world. Rome is the central seat of the world's power. And Rome becomes the central seat of the Christian hierarchy. Princes and priests help each other in their lust of selfish dominion. The Christian ideas, meanwhile, though living and working obscurely, are depressed and neglected.

As the current of affairs went, the Roman hierarchy had almost exclusive management and control of those ideas in the world for some twelve centuries. During that time the Roman Church existed as the historical Church. That Church was serviceable to the world, and to the cause of human civilization, just in proportion as it was faithful to the Christian ideas. If it sometimes stood as a shield and protector between the mass of the people, and the brutal and powerful barons who sought to oppress them, it was because it gave effect to the

Christian idea that the strong ought to assist the weak, and not oppress them. If it was careful to draw the line between temporal power and spiritual power, it was because Christianity insisted on, and set forth, a higher law than that of mere physical force. We would take nothing from the just merits of the Roman Church as an agent, amidst the conflicts of the past ages, in the civilization of the world. We concede to it a large measure of usefulness. How much more good it might have done, had it been fully faithful to the Christian ideas, we need not speculate upon just now. God only can judge adequately of an affair involving such complicated relations, and such vast results.

In reading such books as that which we are reviewing in this article, we see the strong hold which the Roman Church yet maintains on the minds of millions. It is computed that the majority of the Christian world yet hold it in reverence, and bow to its dictates. They regard it as a great disaster, that nearly half of Christendom should deny its authority. They sigh for a return of the time when Rome shall have dominion in all things spiritual. But they might as well sigh for a return of some by-gone geologic epoch of the globe. Both, in the great providential order of events, have alike departed into the irrevocable past. Rome can never regain her dominion. For it is not now as in past and darker times. Her hierarchy might as well put their hand on the wire to stop the lightning, as attempt to check the onward, providential progress of the world. In the erection of the first printing-press, we see the divine signal given of the decline of priestly rule. Wickliffe and Huss had small audiences compared with Luther and his contemporaries. The printing-press spread the thoughts of these last far and wide, and, despite Inquisitorial cruelty and Jesuitical vigilance, they took root and flourished.

It is commonly maintained by the more strict and consistent Catholic writers, that the Roman Church must still bear a leading part in the world's civilization,—that, in fact, there can be no such thing as proper civilization without the guidance and direction of this Church. But what do such writers mean by civilization, and what does such an assertion involve? Whatever verbal defi-

nitions may incidentally get a place in their pages, it is evident that their idea of civilization, and that which we have ventured to set forth, cannot be the same. Their statement might be thus put: — There can be no proper civilization without the guidance and influence of the Christian Church. In the statement thus put we coincide. Yet our meaning is different, for we attach different meanings to the terms of the proposition. By the term Christian Church the Catholic advocate means the ecclesiastical organization of Rome, having the Pope at its head. It is the only true Church, he says. Outside of it there can be no proper Christian teaching, no hope of Christian salvation. Civilization, he contends, is to be attained only by the submission of the human faculties to the guidance of its hierarchy. Now from these statements two inferences inevitably follow, sufficiently startling to most people, but boldly avowed by the logical Romanist; — 1st. That all Protestants, be their virtue or piety what they may, have no more right to be considered Christians than the worst Pagan or the worst Jew; that Protestant worshippers have no more participation in a saving Christianity than the Pagan worshippers of Jove or Juggernaut. 2. That man is more advanced in civilization in those countries where Roman Catholicism prevails, than where Protestantism prevails; that Spain and Portugal are more highly civilized than England and Scotland, and South America than North America. But Catholics themselves do not believe this, as their wholesale emigration to North America rather than to South America daily demonstrates.

It is evident from the admissions of the book before us, and from the operations of the Roman Church everywhere, that it would civilize the world by checking freedom of thought, and subjecting men's minds to the control of its hierarchy. Herein it obstructs the progress of civilization that it may aggrandize itself, and strengthen its own power. Herein it obstructs civilization, because it is unfaithful to the Christian ideas, as set forth by Jesus himself, and his Apostles. Jesus approved of the people's reasoning on natural phenomena, and commanded them to do the same on moral phenomena. "Why even of yourselves," he says, "judge ye not what is right?" But the Roman Church says, "Ye are not to

exercise any judgment of your own in the matter; ye are only to listen, and to acquiesce." * The Apostle John enjoins the people whom he addressed to test the pretensions of their teachers, and see whether they were worthy to be followed. "Try the spirits," he says, "whether they be of God." But the Roman Church says, "Question not your teachers at all, but just believe." The Apostle Paul says, "Prove all things." But the Roman Church says, "Attempt not to prove any thing which our priest teaches." "Be not children in understanding," says Paul again, "in understanding be men"; — thus stimulating the people to a proper self-reliance, and enjoining it on them. But the Roman Church says, "Be content to be children in understanding; rely upon us, your spiritual guides"; — thus depriving men of all proper self-reliance. Again the same Apostle says, "God has not given us the spirit of fear, but of love, of power, and of a sound mind"; — thus teaching that men are not to walk before God or man in an abject spirit, but in the spirit of an aspiring and comprehensive love, and in the power of a sound, free, and well-exercised mind. But the Roman Church breaks down the free spirit of man, and brings it into abject bondage to its hierarchy. In this way does it set itself in systematic opposition to the Christian ideas of freedom and development announced by Jesus and his Apostles. And by doing so it obstructs the progress of human civilization. Christianity has an equal regard for the welfare and rights of all men. The Roman Church is partial to its hierarchy, and desires to maintain itself in possession of certain exclusive rights, in virtue of which it may rule the minds and consciences of the whole world besides.

Into this question of civilization the question of general education naturally and necessarily enters. The legitimate object of education is the proper educing, or drawing forth, and guidance, of the various faculties of man. The universe itself, so far as we can discern it,

* In the rules to be observed for thinking with the Orthodox Church, the founder of the Jesuits lays it down, *first*, "Removing all judgment of one's own, one must always keep one's mind prepared, and ready to obey the true Spouse of Christ." And *thirteenth*, "That we may in all things attain the truth (that we may not err in any thing), we ought ever to hold it (as a fixed principle), that what I see white, I believe to be black, if the Hierarchical Church so define it." — *Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius.*

is but a great school for the education of the human being. The earth was given us that we might dwell upon it, and subdue it. Thus it becomes an instrument of our education. In subduing the earth, — in penetrating its secrets, and availing ourselves of its capabilities, — certain of the human faculties are educed, drawn forth, and guided in their development. We are placed in the midst of our brethren of humanity, and commanded to love them, — to love them as ourselves. But in opposition to this divine command stand the selfish tendencies of our nature. The task, then, is to subdue these selfish tendencies, and give free play to the better and more generous feelings. Thus in mastering this task are the higher and diviner sentiments of man educed, assisted, and guided in their development. When we speak of education, therefore, we mean education in this, its legitimate sense, — the proper educing, or drawing forth, and guiding, of the various faculties and sentiments of man. On this view mere priestly teaching, enjoining passive obedience in things spiritual, is no proper education. It is simply a sort of spiritual drill, the effect of which is altogether unfavorable to the educing or development of the human faculties. Its result upon any nation, subjected to its influence, is to check all healthy and hopeful social activity and advancement.

Protestantism has more correct notions of education than Catholicism. But still the education of the generality of Protestant countries is very defective. They compare to great advantage, however, with Roman Catholic countries. Where Catholicism is left to itself in any country, as in Italy, Spain, and Portugal, popular education is apt to fall into a very deplorable condition. Where it has the stimulating influences of Protestantism beside it, and working along with it, as in the Catholic countries of Germany, a marked improvement becomes evident. According to Ungewitter,* the public reports of Portugal for the year 1841 showed an attendance in all the seminaries, lyceums, gymnasiums, progymnasiums, and common schools of the kingdom, of no more than 31,280 pupils. Now there were at the same period in the common schools of the city of Berlin alone, an

* Europe, Past and Present.

equal number of pupils. In the year 1839, it was stated by a member of the Spanish Cortes that there were in all Spain not far above 900 schools of every description. As Spain is computed to have a population of 12,000,000, it follows that the proportion was about that of one school to 13,333 inhabitants. Now, the small kingdom of the Netherlands, with only somewhat more than a fourth of the population of Spain, has considerably more than double that number of schools. Besides the universities and Latin schools, it sustains 2,204 other schools, of various descriptions. And with respect to Italy, with its swarming multitudes of clergy, regular and secular, it is a remarkable and significant fact, stated by Victor Hugo not long since in the French Assembly, that, in comparison with the other European states, there exists in that country the smallest proportion of the native population who know how to read.*

While we freely admit, as every candid mind must, the usefulness of the Roman Church as an agent in the gradual civilization of the world in time past, we can no longer have much confidence in it as such, owing to the changed circumstances of society, and increased enlightenment. The faithful application of the Christian ideas, through whatever agency, we regard as the certain method of human advancement. These are the salt of the world, — the only preservative of its present civilization against the decay and dissolution which came upon the ancient civilizations. But the Roman Church has not been fully

* With respect to the popular education of Italy, Ungewitter, who compiles his book from official documents and other authentic sources, informs us that the Venetian territory, Tuscany, and the small Duchy of Parma are in advance of the other Italian countries, where the lower classes are described as, for the most part, ignorant. In the States of the Church the mass of the people are set down as grossly ignorant. In Rome itself, however, Mr. Laing informs us, there is no lack of schools. In his "Notes," published about ten years since, he gives it as a remarkable fact, that Rome had above a hundred schools more than Berlin, for a population little more than half that of Berlin. But he does not state, what elsewhere appears, that Berlin, with its hundred schools less than Rome, had more than double the number of pupils. The practical results of the prevailing system of popular education in either country afford the best proof of its character. The statement given above in the text tells powerfully against the prevailing system in Italy; while the fact that, a few years ago, it was found that, of the 122,897 men who composed the standing army of Prussia, there were only two who could not write, tells as strongly in favor of the Prussian system.

faithful to them, — is not now fully faithful to them. Neither is the Anglican Church, nor any other outward ecclesiastical organization that we know of. We must look to the Christian Church, properly so called, for their faithful application, — to the true and pure, the humbly righteous and loving spirits in all outward churches. Those only who carry the living impress of Christ in the heart are capable of doing Christ's work in the world. Before such as these the powers of evil will yield now, as they did at the beginning. The work lies before them in gigantic proportions. For, with all our boasted civilization of this nineteenth century, we are surrounded by barbarisms. War is a common custom of the nations. Slavery still shows its hideous form. Intemperance still stalks abroad. The pure selfishness of our busy competition is appalling. The prevailing oppression and neglect of the weak and the poor is sickening to the Christian heart. The almost universal worship of material interests projects a very dark shadow upon our present condition. Here is work, abundant work, for the Christian Church. To cherish in their own hearts, and carry out in all the concerns and circumstances of society, the principles of peace, freedom, temperance, generosity, and brotherly-kindness, — to assert and set forth by word and action the supremacy of spiritual interests, — this is the privilege and obligation of Christian people. Of Christian *people*, we say, not of the professional ministers of religion only, but of every Christian man and woman. It is in this way alone that the leaven of Christianity can be rightly brought to penetrate the mass of society, and accomplish its grand results. And how careful ought every form of Protestantism to be, that it does not sacrifice the great cause of Christian civilization to a mere zeal for creed, or class, or sect, — and thus fall into one of the worst mistakes of Romanism! The Roman Catholic system boasts of its strength, derived from centralization. But Protestantism has a higher and diviner centralizing and consolidating power within its reach than Romanism. And that it has not hitherto taken advantage of it, must be regarded as evidence so far of its lack of true vision. Protestantism, from its very nature, can never consolidate its strength around a central point of dogma. It must be held together by a spirit. While it maintains its free-

dom, its rallying-point ought to be love, and its highest strength would come from this. An abiding loyalty to the central principle of Christianity would furnish it with a more excellent power than that which comes from loyalty to the chair of Peter, or the decrees of Trent. Through this might the immense power of the Protestant mind, which is now divided and weakened, be consolidated, and brought to bear against the assumed authority and spiritual despotism of Rome. Protestantism can be true to itself, and to its mission in civilizing the world, only when it can say, in sincerity and truth, that it cares less for the creed of Luther, or Calvin, or Fox, or Wesley, than for Christ's distinguishing and everlasting law of love and righteousness. For it is by the power and influence of this, we repeat, that the world is to be purified, elevated, civilized. When all who accept and profess Christianity become faithful to the Christian law, then will the triumph of the Church be secured. Then will all forms of oppression, sensuality, selfishness, and sin be subdued, and brought to nothing. And upon the ruins of the old barbarisms and iniquities will arise the divine dominion of truth, purity, peace, and love. Human civilization will have reached its culminating point only when the Christian law shall have attained a glad and willing obedience among men. J. C.

Art. II. — ETHICS, PURE, MIXED, AND APPLIED.

The distinction between a science and its applications is familiar to all readers. There is a third division, which is neither pure science nor pure application, but a mixed science. Its position is that of mediator between the other two. Pure arithmetic, for example, treats only of numbers, recognizes units, but not unity, and has no knowledge of fractions. Mixed arithmetic, or arithmetic applied to continuous quantity, introduces unity and fractions. Thus arithmetic becomes capable of applications, and gives rules for casting interest, measuring land, or dividing profits. Or we might illustrate by the mathe-

matics in general, which, when pure, give the laws of space and time; when mixed, the laws of phenomena; and when applied, formulas for the control of phenomena, — that is, foretelling eclipses, estimating strength of materials, finding the longitude at sea, and the like. The truth thus illustrated from the perfect sciences holds for all the rest.

From our twofold nature of flesh and spirit, the world inclines to divide, on all subjects, towards two extremes. The wisest men are they who tread the middle path; by the unwise called inconsistent, followers neither of ideal Plato nor of material Xenophon; but, like Socrates, rejoicing both in the inspiration of understanding and in the gift of the five senses. The sensationalist, acknowledging no source of knowledge but in impressions from the outward world, when absurdly consistent measures all things by outward standards. The transcendentalist, claiming the origin of all knowledge for the soul itself, when absurdly consistent despises the outward world and its uses.

There are the like extremes found among the followers of each science. There are those who pursue it solely in its intellectual aspects; cultivating the pure science, and making no applications. There are others who pursue that science only in its direct applications, simply endeavoring to procure the most convenient formulas for immediate use. Neither of these, while absurdly consistent and adhering to his peculiar mode of study, is so successful as the rationally inconsistent man, who says the only end of science is practice, and who yet prepares for practice by studying the mixed sciences, or even pure science; or who says the only end of study is abstract truth, and who yet looks for the stimulus to seek, and the key to find abstract truth, in the mixed sciences, or even in their applications. For whatever view we take of philosophy, whether sensational or transcendental, or both, this remains true, and must be confessed of all; that those men have been most successful, both as thinkers and workers, who have first carefully learned the lessons of outward nature, and then vigorously followed out the hints therein contained. In the great school of human life, wherein God is the teacher, he has prepared the phenomena of creation as diagrams and text-books. He shall learn

little who neglects them, and he shall learn little more who devotes himself wholly to their mere letter and form. The wise scholar will diligently peruse them; not conning the words by rote, but getting their meaning and spirit by heart.

We shall find no exception to these remarks in those sciences which have a moral aspect, nor in the science of morality itself. Ethics may be treated as a pure science, and will then consist of a logical discussion of the relation of free agents to each other as such. Or it may be considered as a mixed science, and will then treat of the relations of men and women to each other and to God. Or it may be considered only in its applications, that is, may consist of the discussion of specific cases, or the duty of individual men.

And in ethics, as in the other sciences, we think the most useful division is that middle ground whereon both parties border, and which partisans may designate as the ground of the timeserver, the coward, and the inconsistent. That is, we conceive that purely ethical speculations, unconnected with human interests, are apt to be barren, fruitless, because pursued with only an intellectual, not a moral ardor; while we conceive that men of purely practical views are apt to become narrow, bitter, and filled with unworthy partisan zeal. But Revealed Religion occupies the middle ground (that is, so far as it treats of morals), and the Christian pulpit has always, so far as its teachings have been of other than theological themes, been of most power when it has unfolded the principles of human action.

The proper sphere of the pulpit is a subject upon which there is much warm discussion and conflicting feeling at the present day. Conservative men are disposed to blame the pulpit for meddling at all with practical matters, while zealous reformers pour out upon it no small measure of abuse for its dry abstractions and neglect of the daily needs of men. Both parties, we think, censure the pulpit wrongfully, and prescribe for it a less fruitful, less valuable service, than that which, in the main, it has always rendered. The ultra conservative would restrict the teachings of the pulpit to abstract morality, and doctrinal theology; the ultra reformer would confine them to the treatment of practical, every-

day duties. Either mode would effectually seal up the springs of life that flow from the sanctuary of God. On the one hand it is necessary to sanctify life by the power of religion; and religion will have little earnestness or reality if it be not made a guide of all our actions. We must, then, like David in the field of Araunah, build our altar upon the threshing-floor, carrying our religion into our every-day business and our every-day politics, according to the injunction of the Apostle, "Let your citizenship be as it becometh the Gospel." On the other hand, it is necessary to keep religion free from all that can defile in life; and there will be much that is unclean in a life which is sanctified only by a defiled religion. Every threshing-floor is to be made an altar, but not every altar a threshing-floor. In all our every-day business and politics, we must apply the teaching of religion; but it does not follow that our business and politics are fit themes for religious teaching. The church should not be made a lecture-room, a threshing-floor for debate or the discussion of debatable questions. The other process is the legitimate one, to recognize in every hall of debate the presence of an Omniscient Witness and Supreme Judge.

The duty of the Christian preacher is twofold; to call sinners to repentance, and to edify the saints. In the performance of either of these duties, faithfully and thoroughly, it becomes necessary to give a large amount of moral instruction, that the man in whom there is no love of God may see, by this mirror of the law, the blackness of his own heart; and that the man who has been born into the higher life may see what that life demands, and to what ends, by God's grace, he must approach. Neither of these high purposes is well attained, except by treating morality in a way analogous to that of a mixed science. If the pure abstractions of ethics are presented in a sermon, they fall lifeless upon the hearts of the hearers; the sinner is not converted nor the saint edified.

But the objection of the ultra conservative to the pulpit's freedom on practical points would, if carried out, restrict the sermon to this dry and useless theorizing. The formula of the algebraist is scarcely more impotent over the heart, than is a purely intellectual exposition of even vital Christian truths. Now, the preaching of the

Gospel ought to influence the hearts and lives of men. If the constant preaching of the Protestant clergy, and the circulation of the Scriptures for three centuries, had not produced the philanthropic and practical spirit of our age, we might well have doubted the value and efficacy of such preaching. The progress of the world in civilization and humanity during this period would never have taken place, if the pulpit had refrained from a practical application of its truths to the hearers' lives. From the reformation in religion other reformations have sprung.

If, on the other hand, the sermon is occupied with single applications to life and conduct, it will produce little practical effect. By the deeds of a law no man can be justified, neither by the preaching of laws can any man be sanctified. A sermon on any particular vice or virtue, and confined exclusively to practical remarks, may wound the pride of those to whom the remarks are applicable, but it will not be likely to touch their consciences, and it certainly leaves all others in the congregation without instruction or benefit.

If the clergy should yield to the entreaties of "radical" advisers, and give up the preaching of religion, — if the spirit of the age and the reforms of the day should become the only topics of their sermons, — our religion would subside into mere morality, and our morality would degenerate into mere sentimentalism.

It has usually, however, been the aim of a Christian preacher, so far as he preached on morals at all, to unfold principles, and denote the manner in which they are to be applied. In this the clergy, moved by the spirit of a wisdom not their own, have taken the course which, by the analogy of other teachings, we have shown to be the most successful in all respects; — in discovering the truths that pertain to duty, and in making them efficacious over the hearts of their hearers. They have not presented religion as a matter of mere doctrine, about which men may reason, debate, and be zealous, with hands stained with blood, or hearts filled with contempt and hatred. Neither have they confounded Christianity with the fruits thereof, — the applications with the principles to be applied. They have asked men to worship as well as to work. They have recognized the superior

value of praying over preaching, of preaching over lecturing; of religion over morality, and morality over manners. They have, we suppose, conceived that the office of the Christian teacher, so far as it pertains to morality, to duties other than those of our direct relations to God, is to unfold the principles of the Gospel, that is, the truths pertaining to duty. He must make these clear, strong, and practical, so that they may bite into the conscience, and be engraved upon the heart. In order to do this, he must in general illustrate the principle, and in order to illustrate it he must apply it, and apply it according to his own understanding and judgment. If the "conservative" differ in his judgment from the preacher, he is not to forbid his making the application; for the preacher must make such applications as he thinks necessary to illustrate the principle. If the preacher do not think it necessary to make an application, the "radical" has no right to demand it of him, provided the principle is made clear, forcible, and practical without the aid of illustration.

This, which we take to be the most usual preaching of the Gospel, is the most effectual. The principle covers a multitude of cases, and touches each man's conscience in the right spot; while the application, at best, covers but a particular case, and the doctrine, out of which the principle flows, is barren in any but skilful hands. Those for whom an application is made may reject it as intrusion; those to whom a doctrine applies may not see its application; while those to whom a principle is made clear feel it asserting its power over their actions. The freedom of man and the sovereignty of God afford the basis for interminable metaphysical discussions, which would be perfectly worthless as sermons. Each particular sphere of human duty affords the opportunity to apply these truths, but a sermon devoted exclusively to this application would be of little value to those placed by Providence without that sphere. Take, however, the principle first flowing from these truths, namely, the power and obligation of man to do the will of God; make this clear, and make it strongly bear upon the hearers, and you will edify all hearts. One will return to his private business, with a new sense of his obligation to conduct it in the fear of God; another to his struggle with temptation, having new faith in his power,

by God's grace, to conquer; another to his efforts to recover men from particular vices, or enlighten them on particular public evils, having new confidence in the power of man to rise from the dust and mire of sin, and a new feeling of his responsibleness to God for his action or neglect of action. T. H.

Art. III. — RIGHTS AND WRONGS OF WOMEN.*

In the minute and interesting account of the ancient Egyptians contained in the second book of Herodotus, it is stated that the women attended to out-of-door affairs, while the men staid at home and worked at the loom. Some have presumed to maintain that this is the reason why the cloths and embroideries of that ingenious nation were held in such high esteem by the merchants and consumers of the ancient world. This peculiarity of the domestic arrangements of the Egyptians is often alluded to, by way of joke and otherwise, in the ancient writers. In the beautiful play of Sophocles, the Œdipus at Colonos, the blind old wanderer, deserted by his sons, but reverently served by his loving daughters in his sorrowing exile, says: —

"How have they bowed their manners and their mind
To the base customs of inglorious Egypt!
Where men, immured at home, direct the loom,
While in the field their women still procure
The sustenance of life. Thus, too, of you
My children, those whom best such toil behooved,
Like timid maids, rest idly in their homes;
While ye, my daughters, in their stead partake
A wretched father's sorrows."

The legend of the Amazons, of which classical tra-

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* 1. *The True Remedy for the Wrongs of Woman; with a History of an Enterprise having that for its Object.* By Catharine E. Beecher. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 263.

2. *The Proceedings of the Women's Rights Convention.* October 23, 24, 1850.

3. Ἀριστοφάνους Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι. Lipsiæ. 1829.

4. *The Ecclesiazusæ, or Female Parliament.* Translated from Aristophanes, by the Rev. Rowland Smith, M. A. Oxford. 1833.

ditions are so full, points in its origin, probably, to another
tal of the relations of the sexes. At a college ex-
ation, not a hundred years ago, the answer given to
estion, Who were the Amazons? was, "A nation
arlike women, who kept their husbands in subjec-
" We are inclined to think this answer contained
erm of the true explanation of the myth. The legend
urned to excellent account by the Athenian artists,
however, with blind partiality for their own ances-
persisted in ascribing the victory in the Amazonian
to Theseus and his host. We wish the other party
written a history of the transaction. The battle
indeed, have been a hard one; in one sense, the
hty heroes of the violet-crowned city may have
victorious; but we suspect it ended much as Shak-
e represents it:—

Theseus. Now, fair Hippolyta, our nuptial hour
s on apace; four happy days bring in
her moon. But, O, methinks how slow
old moon wanes! She lingers my desires,
to a step-dame, or a dowager,
withering out a young man's revenue.
Hippolyta. Four days will quickly steep themselves in nights;
nights will quickly dream away the time;
then the moon, like to a silver bow
bent in heaven, shall behold the night
our solemnities."

The relations of the sexes have, in all human socie-
s, been more or less the subject of doubt and discus-
on. There can, however, be but little question, that
nations have been truly civilized in proportion as this
matter has been correctly understood. The polygamy
of so large a part of the ancient world was a fruitful
source of disaster and decline, as it is even now, in many
of the same countries where it formerly prevailed. The
European races, beginning with the ancient Greeks, set
this relation in its proper light, by adopting the principle
of monogamy,— or the marriage of one woman to one
man. So far all is well. But the difficult problem is to
guard the welfare of woman, in this domestic union,
without creating a diversity of interests incompatible
with the highest happiness it is capable of yielding to
both. No doubt our law, like the laws of many other

countries, makes the marriage tie a legal contract; and it does not, like the canon law of some countries, make it indissoluble. Still, to the common sense and correct feeling of all right-minded men, it is a legal contract *sui generis*, and like no other. It involves the entire happiness, in this world, of those who enter the state to which marriage is the preliminary step; and its consequences are not trammelled up with the lives of the immediate parties. It is, therefore, a most solemn matter, not to be dealt with in a business way, but to be approached in a spirit of earnest reflection, remote alike from the frivolities of fashionable life and the worldly calculations of avarice.

In the present age, and in a country like our own, the vast majority of marriages contracted are happy ones. True, some men and women rush into this relation under the influence of youthful, unreflecting passion, without due knowledge of each other's character, and then repent at their leisure. The gratification of whim, or the obstinate adherence to a caprice, is punished by the misery of a lifetime. These, however, are cases of exception. But they have been sufficiently numerous to attract the attention of legislators and thinkers. Milton long ago advocated the doctrine of divorce to meet the difficulties and remedy the wrongs of such ill-assorted marriages. His principles have been often adopted, and oftener advocated. Even where not formally enacted, they have been followed by courts in the exercise of judicial discretion. It is by no means clear that these ready separations have contributed to the happiness of the individuals immediately concerned; and it is very clear that they have *not* contributed to the sound morals of society at large.

Another class of cases has excited great sympathy for those who have appeared in the light of victims. Sometimes the fortune brought into the marriage by the wife has been placed wholly at the disposal of the husband, and made responsible for his debts and obligations. This is generally the case, unless the property is already secured by having been placed in trust, either by the will of the person from whom the woman inherits, or by marriage settlements. In either way, the interest of the wife may now be sufficiently secured against the possible extravagance, vice, or profligacy of the husband.

Whether there is any sufficient safeguard on the other side, is not so certain; and whether it is expedient, and makes for the general good, to provide so carefully for the cases of exception to which we have above alluded, may admit of a doubt.

It is certain, however, that every view of the case, every legislative enactment, every usage of society, which tends to create a diversity of interests, or even to sustain the idea of one, between the husband and wife, lowers the dignity and nobleness of this most beautiful relation. The urging of adverse claims, the chaffering for legal securities, the debates, arguments, and even quarrels, on questions of property, that sometimes take place between the contracting parties, or their legal representatives, degrade the highest and holiest of God's institutions, — a *sacrament*, as the Catholic Church rightly regards it, — to a mere huckstering bargain; it converts a union, which was intended to blend two immortal beings into one, by surrounding them with the dearest charities and sweetest affections of life, — it converts this gracious state of inseparable hopes, common fortunes, equally shared delights and joys, into a limited partnership, gross and unsanctified in its purpose, secular in its forms, selfish in its ends; —

> "Such an act
> That blurs the grace and blush of modesty;
> Calls virtue, hypocrite; takes off the rose
> From the fair forehead of an innocent love,
> And sets a blister there; makes marriage vows
> As false as dicer's oaths; O, such a deed,
> As from the body of contraction plucks
> The very soul, and sweet religion makes
> A rhapsody of words."

The "Rights of Women" question has assumed a broader range of discussion, and entered upon more comprehensive claims, within the last few years. In every civil society, there are lady-like men, and gentleman-like women, who form exceptions to the general laws of Nature; and it is perfectly right that they should severally assume the duties for which Nature, in her exceptional freaks, best qualified them. A venerable friend of ours was once applied to by a political faction, to be their candidate for Lieutenant-Governor. He replied, "I have

the honor to hold the office of lieutenant-governor at home, — and that is the highest office I have ever aspired to fill." An Amazonian advocate of the Rights of Women a few years since attacked a gentleman distinguished for his great intellectual vigor, but not equally distinguished for thews and sinews, and challenged him to a tilt upon her favorite thesis. He began by laying down what seemed to be a self-evident, or axiomatic proposition, — "You will admit that men are superior in physical strength." "I admit no such thing," answered the challenger, and squared off so scientifically, that her opponent — dropped the subject. All these characters are aptly symbolized by the buxom lady in that classic of our childhood, — Mother Goose, — whose history was not only rehearsed in rhythm, but pictorially illustrated. Of a commanding figure herself, she had a little husband who, though a soldier, was quite unequal to her in physical strength. So

> "She put him in a pint-pot
> And there she bade him drum."

The pretensions of this class of women to a controlling influence in human affairs are now urged, not only in the private circle, but in the public convention and open debate. They assert a right to mingle in the political contest, and to run their chances, with the so-called stronger sex; they claim to be admitted into the professions, learned and unlearned; and to have their full share in all the offices of honor and dishonor, of profit and loss, that depend on the popular vote. And their pretensions do not stop here. The particular and most characteristic part of man's attire, — that which by prescriptive right and immemorial usage has constituted, under various unmentionable names, no small portion of his personal identity, — which was never usurped by the other sex except as a figure of speech, — has been invaded by an adventurous troop of the advance-guard in the feminine army of reform. We fervently hope the hat will go next. This uncomfortable cone, perched on the top of the head, and binding the forehead as painfully as "Luke's Iron Crown," we would gladly exchange for any one of the myriad forms of covering under which the shapely head of woman has been protected.

Miss Beecher's book on the True Remedy for the Wrongs of Woman we have read with pleasure and instruction. It is written in a very sprightly style, and contains many practical suggestions of great value. She has, too, a keen perception of the humor of the character she is enacting, and her wit gives a pleasant and spicy variety to the discussion. Such a woman would command our vote for any office to which she could constitutionally aspire. Her views on the part which women should take in the early education of both sexes, and the entire education of their own, meet our unqualified approbation. She has not been a mere theorist, but has labored with admirable energy, and we presume success, especially in building up a high order of schools in the Western States. The following passage will speak for itself.

"Meantime, those who really are rendering the most service to society by performing these labors, are despised as the lowest class. Even the teachers of young children, as the general rule, receive poorer wages than are paid to the higher class of domestics, and are regarded as an inferior caste by those who consider themselves the nobility of society.

"This estimate of domestic and educational labor operates disastrously on all other portions of society. Each class is striving to rise still higher, and the highest position is deemed to be that in which the occupant renders little or no service to society, but lives solely on the earnings of others.

"In respect to the *education of woman for her profession*, — in the most intelligent and wealthy classes, it is little regarded. That great class of young ladies, who receive the benefits of our highest schools and seminaries, spend their whole childhood and youth in receiving what is called an education, and then the vast majority come forth profoundly ignorant of all that they most need to know. As to the science and practice of Domestic Economy, they are far better instructed in Political Economy, or even in Navigation or Surveying, for these sciences are often a regular part of the course of study in our female institutions.

"And as to the knowledge that would qualify them to take charge of a young infant, the cat or the sheep would be altogether their superiors in the care of the young of their own species. And in regard to the still more arduous duty of training the mind of infancy and childhood, our highly educated young ladies would be far more wisely set to work in constructing and regulating chronometers, or in superintending the working of steam-engines, than in physical, intellectual, and moral education.

"When this is true of the most cultivated class, nothing better is to be expected of those less favored, except so far as necessity drives them to learn certain things by practice which they would shun if fortune would but elevate their social position.

"Meantime, to acquire a little smattering of some foreign tongue, or to learn to play a few tunes on some instrument which soon are to be forgotten, is a matter to which parents devote care, and effort, and large expense, and which children are trained to regard as the most creditable acquisitions of an education.

"But the grand source of the heaviest wrong that oppresses our sex is found in the fact, that they are so extensively cut off from honorable and remunerative employ in their professional vocation. This is owing in part to the disgrace which is attached to the performance of the most important services of the family, and in part to the fact, that, to a wide extent, men have usurped the most important department of woman's profession, and thus she has been driven to take up the relinquished employments of man.

"The *training of the human mind* in the years of *infancy and childhood*, — this, it is claimed, is the appropriate and highest vocation of woman. And in all those states and cities in our country where education prospers the most, it has flourished just exactly in proportion to the extent in which men have forsaken and women have been restored to this employ.

"There are now more than *two million* children in this country *without any schools!* There are probably as many more in schools taught by men, who could be far more appropriately employed in shops or mills, or other masculine pursuits. Were all these children placed in schools at the ordinary rate of apportionment of pupils to teachers, it would require *two hundred thousand women* to meet the demand. Where are these women? They are living in indolent ease, or they are toiling in shops and mills, or in some other employments, which yield a pittance scarcely sufficient to sustain life." — pp. 30 – 34.

And the following passage will show the spirit with which she engaged in her Western enterprise.

"The letters I received were so urgent, and the necessities of the case seemed so great, that I immediately decided to raise funds for this express object, and to go out myself to administer them. It was midwinter, and it was in *Iowa* that I was most imperiously needed. The ladies of Brooklyn, New York, and Philadelphia furnished me with funds, and a lady of enterprise and benevolence agreed to accompany me at her own expense.

"I had heard terrific accounts of the winter journey across the mountains, — of frightful precipices, which there was no way of

escaping but to put the stage-horses on a full run over a glare of ice, down a curving and fearful descent! There was no other way than this now open. So I made my will, had my Daguerreotype taken for father, and made all other proper arrangements for a roll down the Alleghanies." — pp. 115, 116.

We have not yet received, in a pamphlet form, the proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention, held this year in the unhappy city of Worcester. We bought the report of last year for the sake of a speech which we regarded as the gem of the eloquence of the convention, and were greatly disappointed that the editors of the proceedings thought proper to omit it altogether, not even making a single allusion to the speech or its author. While the pompous platitudes of Paulina Davis, and the magniloquent periods of Abby Price, from the significantly named village of Hopedale, and the sensible but somewhat verbose address of Doctor Harriet Hunt, and the discourses and resolutions of the feminine men, who graced the occasion with their presence, — while all these are printed at length, and some of them at unreasonable length, in the proceedings, — the pointed and pithy speech of Sojourner Truth, a black woman, who showed more sense than all the rest of the convention together, has been passed over without the slightest notice. Whether it was through inadvertence or jealousy we have no means of knowing; but whatever may have been the cause or the motive, the omission is nowise creditable to the getters-up of the convention. Miss Sojourner Truth (alas that the name of this estimable lady should be so true a symbol of the condition of truth among us!) rose to address the house, and her brief speech — whose only fault was its brevity — ended with this sentence, which stamped itself ineffaceably upon our memory: "If the women want more rights, why don't they take them, and not make such a long linkum about it?"

These supposed new claims of the women have connected themselves very generally with radical views on other subjects. In Europe they form a part of a comprehensive scheme of Communism, which strikes at the root of property, family, religion of every kind, except an extravagant worship of the senses, and aims to destroy all the sacred privacy of domestic life. The modern apostles of this new creed are St. Simon and Fourier;

and their disciples are seeking to build up a branch of the church universal in this country. Most of those who have joined in the movement here are not conscious to what end it is tending; their leaders are craftily enticing them on, in the hope of gradually moulding them to their selfish, sensual, and revolutionary purposes. It is amusing, meantime, to see how shy the dainty reformers and emancipators of the land are of committing themselves to the Woman's Rights movement. Letters from several of them were read, at the convention of the present year; one was writing a biography of a distinguished lady, and could not come; another was preparing a lecture on Woman, and prayed them to have him excused. All were charily nibbling at the bait, but a little afraid *to bite*, — or be bitten.

All these ideas, however, which flaunt before us in this age with the gloss of novelty, are in reality ancient follies, newly vamped. The Ἐκκλησιάζουσαι, or Women in Congress Assembled, by Aristophanes, contains every one of them. To a brief examination of this piece we shall devote the remainder of the present article.

This play was exhibited in the year B. C. 392, about fourteen years after the close of the Peloponnesian war.

At a very early period, the Greek philosophers had begun to speculate on the nature of the state, the relations of the individual to the state, and the evils of these relations and of the social arrangements generally. The natural consequence was innumerable theoretical schemes to cure the diseases of human society, and raise man from his surrounding miseries to a state of perfect happiness. There is scarcely a notion conceived by modern regenerators of the race, that was not amply discussed by thinkers five or six centuries before Christ. The merging the individual in the state, — the abolition of property and of marriage, — the overthrow of every institution which the instincts first and then the reason of man had built up around his life, — community of goods and community of women, — Socialism in every form, — Fourierism, Icarianism, Bloomerism, Shakerism, Rights of Women, — all these aberrations of the unsound intellect are but clumsy plagiarisms from five-and-twenty centuries ago. From Protagoras to Plato; from Plato to Cicero; from Cicero to Sir Thomas More and Harrington;

from these really great men down to the fantastic fopperies of St. Simon, Cabet, Fourier, Louis Blanc, and the Red Republicans of France and Germany, the evils of man's condition have been the theme of incessant speculation, and have given rise to Polities, Eutopias, Oceanas, Icarias, of every degree of wisdom or folly. The question of the Rights of Women was practically dealt with by the Dorians and Æolians. It was less respectfully considered by the Ionians, who, especially in Athens, laid more restraints upon the freedom of the women in private life. A great inroad was made upon the strictness of the ancient manners at the house of Pericles. This famous orator and statesman had separated from his wife, —a noble Athenian lady,—and formed a left-handed marriage with Aspasia, a beautiful woman of Miletos, whose attractive manners, splendid intellectual endowments, and elegant conversation drew into the saloons of Pericles the most accomplished society of the capital. This was not restricted to the society of the men. Athenian husbands, once having tasted the charms of the society of agreeable and accomplished men and women, meeting in the apartments of the first citizen of the first state of the world, surrounded by every art that could delight the senses and refine the taste, became emulous to introduce the new style into their own households, and finally took their own wives with them that they might imitate the graceful bearing and learn the gracious speech, with the whole art of pleasing, so successfully practised by Aspasia. There were some families, however, of the stricter sort, who discountenanced these innovations upon the ancient manners,—some straitlaced and puritanic ladies, who looked upon them with horror, and denounced them as tending directly to the overthrow of virtue and the annihilation of piety towards the gods. Yet this scarcely diminished the influence of her genius, to which Socrates himself bowed with respect. The lofty talent of Pericles gained new force from the mind of Aspasia; and that eloquence which thundered and lightened and stirred up all Hellas is said to have owed not a little of its elegance and power to the influence of her genius. Many other women are known to have broken loose from the rigid restraints of female decorum in Athens, to have cultivated their minds by the study of

letters, art, and science, and to have made themselves agreeable companions by these various accomplishments. The shock which such pursuits gave to the social and traditional prejudices of their countrywomen, placed these ladies — blue-stockings we should call them if they had worn any stockings at all in those days — in a very ambiguous position, and under the ban of public opinion; and doubtless the profligacy of some of them — naturally accompanying their defiance of the established usages of society — gave partial ground for the general suspicion, and even positive charge, of lack of virtue in all. However that may be, it is a fact of history, that the society of these eloquent and accomplished persons was sought, and their discourse listened to with respect and admiration, by philosophers, generals, artists, statesmen, and poets. The great questions of politics and statecraft, doubtless, were argued and lectured upon by these ladies with more ability than is sometimes shown by members of parliaments and senates. From these questions, the transition was inevitable to those which more nearly touched the rights of women. Looking around them, among the Athenians, they saw their sex shut up in the privacy of the Gunaikeion, remote from the intellectual pursuits, and sharing slightly in the intellectual pleasures of men, with no political or legal rights except through the representative character of the next friend, without a voice in answering the most personal and interesting question ever put to a woman, without the privilege of saying "Yes," or the pleasure of saying "No."

It can scarcely be doubted, that the bolder spirits among this class of female professors sometimes dreamed of the possibility of transferring the government of the state from the hands of the men to their own. The experience of the Peloponnesian war, with its unstable politics, and the general mismanagement of public affairs; the difficulties into which the country was constantly plunged, and the frightful corruption which weakened or destroyed the vital action of the state; — all these open and startling facts could not escape their free and searching scrutiny; and the idea of a change must often have entered the minds of these politico-philosophical dames.

This is precisely the subject the play in question takes up. It is not a parody on the Republic of Plato, as is commonly represented, but a comical handling of the discussions to which we have referred, embodying in the action the various schemes of communism wherewith the reforming brains of antiquity had long been teeming. The poet's purpose is not merely to throw ridicule on these fantastic schemes, but to teach a lesson by holding up a picture of the practical operations of their principles. He flinches at none of the consequences, softens down none of the repulsive aspects, and shrinks from no plainness of speech or extremity of action, into which the subject, freed from the restraints of modern decorum, and under all the licentious liberties of the comic stage, inevitably runs. But these offensive portions are not necessary to the general plot of the play; the vivid truth of the picture, and the force of the arguments, may be mostly given, without trenching upon the just reserve which modern manners impose.

The date of the piece, as we have mentioned, was about 392 B. C., in the midst of the wearisome warfare in Asia Minor, which ended with the peace of Antalcidas. The state of public and private affairs was most unsatisfactory; and no doubt uneasiness and discomfort extensively prevailed. Whether female world-reformers were particularly active at this crisis, history does not inform us; probably they were, since the poet generally seized upon the folly of the moment.

The comedy is laid out upon the following plan. Praxagora, a strong-minded woman, the wife of a good citizen, Blepyrus by name, devises a scheme for usurping the government. She had formerly lived in the neighborhood of the Pnyx, — near enough to overhear the stormy debates on public affairs which so often took place there. The eloquence of the orators kindled in her breast a desire to rival them; but how to bring it about was the question. Her busy brain at length conceived the project of gathering the women about her, forming a party, and, after properly training them in their respective parts, proceeding to the Assembly, and passing a decree, ordaining that the government be transferred to the hands of the women. The constitution of Athens at this time was ultra-democratic, allowing universal suf-

frage; and as the debates were held early in the morning, all they had to do was to rise before their husbands awoke, steal the masculine garb, and, with false beards repairing to the Assembly, occupy the front seats and hurry their revolutionary measure through all the legislative forms. But careful preliminary training was needful, in the art and craft of public debate. The women were accustomed to certain feminine ways of swearing, which they must unlearn, and screw up their mouths to the round oaths of their lords. Accordingly, a midnight conclave is agreed upon, and the play opens with a soliloquy of the chief conspirator, in a style of ludicrous parody upon the solemn prologues of the tragedies. After apostrophizing the lamp, —

> "Thou offspring of the potter's plastic art,
> Suspended now, whence best thy ray may shine,
> To bear a kindred office with the sun,
> Beam forth thy brightest, be our signal-bearer," —

and after recounting the various services of the lamp, she ends, —

> "Dawn fast approaches, and at break of day
> The Assembly meets, and we must take our seats.
> Why this delay? They surely can't have failed
> To get them all false beards, as was agreed on?
> Or was it hard to steal their husband's breeches
> And make safe off. But lo! I see a lamp
> Hitherward coming; then I 'll step aside,
> Lest he who comes turn out to be a man."

He who came turned out to be a woman, who is followed by another, and another, each giving some good reason for her tardiness. The husband of one had dined on sprats, and had a fit of dyspepsia, which kept him awake until long after midnight. One woman brings her knitting, that she may lose no time; of course, she is obliged to lay aside such feminine occupation in an instant, amidst a storm of reproaches. After examining their dresses and general appearance, the business of the meeting is explained by Praxagora, and the speaking commences. The first speaker gets on pretty well for a time, but, forgetting that she is a man, swears by Artemis, is called to order, and forced to sit down; another tries it, and, warming with the subject,

lets out an oath, by the *two goddesses*, and has to sit down. Another begins, "To me, *ye women*, here in council met"; she, too, is sharply called to order. At length Praxagora herself addresses the house: —

"To me the welfare of our native lands
No less imports than you: I grieve to see
The sad condition of the Commonwealth,
For I behold it under faithless rulers
Suffering incessant; if a single day
They keep an honest, uncorrupted faith,
The ten next days they practise villany.
Dost to another trust? he proves a greater rascal.
Rebuke is thankless to ill-tempered men, —
Ye who distrust whoever wills to serve you,
But lick the dust before the ill-disposed.
Once on a time we called no public meetings;
No, not at all, but held Agyrrius
To be a knave; now, when we have the assemblies,
Who gets his fee applauds them overmuch,
Who gets it not swears they deserve to die
Who serve the state for filthy lucre's sake.
"*First Woman.* By Aphrodite! thou hast fairly spoken.
"*Prax.* Wretch! a pretty thing
Were done, hadst thou so spoken in the Assembly."

After pointing out the evils of the present administration, she ends by bringing forward the grand scheme.

"Give heed,
However, and I'll point a way of safety yet;
'T is that we put the *women* at the helm
Of government; to them we trust our homes,
Why not, then, trust to *them* the Commonwealth?
"*Second Woman.* Well said! by Jove, well said! right excellent!
"*Prax.* How far to be preferred to *ours* the ways
Of *women* are, I'll briefly state. First, then,
After the good old custom, one and all
Their woollen garments in *warm* water wash.
You ne'er find *women* fond of change; O, had
Our state but held this rule, instead of ever
Grasping at some new scheme, some untried project,
What city could have vied with glorious Athens?
Bread they bake, seated as of olden time;
And as of old bear burdens on their *head*;
They worship Ceres, as of olden time;

And as of olden time they make their cakes;
They beat their husbands, as of olden time.

. . . . .

Such are the women, and to them befits it,
That we the *men* resign the helm of state,
Asking no idle questions, as, What course
Of policy they will pursue; but simply
Investing them at once with sovereign power.
For their good conduct, be our guaranty
Naught else save *this*, that, being *mothers*, they
Will seek their *children's* good; for who more anxious
Than the fond parent to protect her nursling?
Then for the *ways and means*, say who 're more skilled
Than women? they too are such arch *deceivers*,
That, when in power, they ne'er will *be deceived*.
More needs not; only follow this good counsel,
And soon ye 'll see the Athenian state will flourish."

This preliminary business over, they proceed, in the form of a chorus, to the Assembly.

Meantime the Athenian husbands begin to bestir themselves. Their wardrobes were not overstocked with spare garments; they were lucky fellows if they were sure of always having one suit. They found themselves in a very embarrassing position. Private occasions and public duties alike forbade their lying abed all day. There was no help for it; and making a virtue of necessity, they slip on, as well as they may, their wives' gear, and, cautiously opening the doors and peering up and down the street to see if the coast is clear, they venture out. Blepyrus, the husband of Praxagora, is the first who heaves in sight, in a pair of high-heeled woman's boots, and a short bright-yellow petticoat.

"*Blep.* What *is* the matter? where is my wife gone?
The morning breaks, but she nowhere is seen.
Long time I 've fumbled in the dark, my shoes
To find, and coat; but when I 'd groped for them,
Nor could not find them, and already knocked
The scavenger loud rapping at my door,
I seize perforce on madam's scanty kirtle,
And squeeze my feet into her Persian boots.
Well, here I am, and still the shades of night
Protect me from my neighbor's peering eyes.
Fool that I was to marry at my age,

And sound the drubbing I deserve to get;
Plague take the gadding jade, my wife!
Be sure she 's out on some dishonest scrape."

At this moment another citizen, in similar plight, comes in.

" *Cit.* Who 's this? not surely neighbor Blepyrus.
By Zeus! but 't is in very sooth the man.
Prythee, what means this *yellow* that I see?
" *Blep.* I 've just come out with my wife's petticoat
Of saffron die, she mostly wears herself.
" *Cit.* But where 's thy coat?
" *Blep.* That 's more than I can tell.
I searched the bedroom, but I found it not,
" *Cit.* Didst not command thy wife to tell thee where?
" *Blep.* By Zeus I did not, for she 's not at home;
But has slipped out, and left me all alone.
Therefore I fear some mischief is afoot.
" *Cit.* By great Poseidon, we were served alike!
My lady too has vanished out of doors,
And stolen the garment I was wont to wear.
But worse than this, she 's ta'en my sandals too.
At least, I found them nowhere in the house.
" *Blep.* By Dionysos! nor could I my shoes
From Sparta bought, but I must needs slip on
These high-soled buskins of my better half.
" *Cit.* What can it be? May some one of her friends
Have given a breakfast?
" *Blep.* I had thought of that.
I do not know that after all she 's *bad*.
" *Cit.* The hour is come to go to the Assembly,
If I could find the only coat I had."

The citizen disappears, and another citizen, Chremes, a bachelor apparently, comes in from the Assembly.

" *Chr.* What dost thou? why this woman's garb art wearing?
" *Blep.* Why, in the dark, I took what I could find.
But whence come you, forsooth?
" *Chr.* From the Assembly.
" *Blep.* What! is 't already over?
" *Chr.* Yes, long since.
" *Blep.* Three obols didst thou get?
" *Chr.* I would I had,
But I went late, and now, by Zeus, I fear
To look on nothing but this empty purse.

" *Blep.* What was the cause?
" *Chr.* A mighty mob of fellows,
Greater than ever crowded to the Pnyx,
Whom when we saw we likened unto cobblers.
Nor this alone, but wonderful to see
How *multitudinously white* the Assembly was.
So I and many others lost our fees."

Chremes then gives a droll account of the occurrences at the meeting; of the manner in which the orators were hustled out, and the men, especially Blepyrus, abused by a "comely youth," who proves to be his wife:—

" The subject
Chosen by the Prytanes for debate, '*How best*
To save the sinking state?' Foremost to speak
Crawled forth the blear-eyed Neoclides; instant
There rose a general buzz of indignation:
'What, such a wretch dare play the orator,
And think to *save* the state, who could not *save*
His own poor eyesight?'
. . . . . .
" After him arose
Evæon, a right subtle orator,
(So tattered was this worthy's garb, that he
To most men's eyes seemed naked, but himself
Stoutly maintained he *had* a garment on,)
Then cunningly he tuned his words to please
The public ear! 'Good citizens, ye see
One, who, himself necessitous, (for not
Four *staters* has he,) yet can frame a plan
Shall save our state. It is then my opinion
Ye should enact a law, that in the winter
All clothiers be compelled to *give* a cloak
To such as cannot purchase one,—for this
Will save us many a cold and pleurisy.
Next, that whoe'er has neither bed nor bedding
Have a night's lodging at the fripperer's *gratis*
(Provided he be sweet and clean); the penalty,
If any fripperer shut his door against
The houseless, to be, three good fleecy blankets.'
" *Blep.* By Bacchus! palatable counsel that;
And that the motion might be carried, this
Alone was wanting: 'That each mealman shall
Provide the needy with three pounds of flour
Whereon to sup, or take the consequence.'
" *Chr.* Well, next advanced a fair and comely youth,

Not unlike Nicias, to address the people.
He strove to prove, the only course of safety
Was, that the *women* take the reins of state.
From all the pale-faced faction there were heard
Shouts of applause, at these their spokesman's words;
While from the sturdy burghers cries as loud
Of disapproval rose.
" *Blep.* And with good reason.
" *Chr.* It booted not; *they* were cried down, while *he*
To a still louder pitch his voice then raised,
And heaped all praise upon the *women*, but
On *thee* most foul abuse.
" *Blep.* I pray, repeat it.
" *Chr.* First, thou 'rt a *villain.*
" *Blep.* Well, and what of *thee?*
" *Chr.* We 'll speak of that anon. Well, next he said,
Thou 'rt a most *arrant thief.*
" *Blep.* What, I alone?
" *Chr.* And, to crown all, a *rank informer.*
" *Blep.* What!
All this of *me alone?*
" *Chr.* Nay, for thy comfort,
He said the same of all the *men.*"

Finally the decree was passed, —

" To invest
The women with the powers of government;
For, in the many changes which our state
Has undergone, this only is untried."

After the meeting is over, the women hurry home, resume their ordinary dresses and duties, and account to their husbands, as well as they may, for such an extraordinary escapade. Blepyrus tells Praxagora, as a piece of news, what has been done at the Assembly. She affects ignorance and incredulity; but pretending at length to be convinced, she exclaims, " Henceforth, right prosperous will our city be." Soon the chorus again come forward, and demand of Praxagora, who is to be the chief of the new state, to define her position; upon which she proceeds to lay down what in modern politics would be called a platform.

" Let me then, I pray, bespeak your silence and attention,
Until to each is manifest the depth of my invention.

To *me*, now, friends and citizens, it seems but just and fair,
That of this life's good things you all should have an equal share;
Wherefore should *one* in ample wealth and luxury abound,
When oft another in the depth of penury is found?
And while *one* man has broad domains, and fertile acres owns,
Why wants another space of ground wherein to lay his bones?
Why too of slaves should *this* presume to feed a lengthened train,
While *that* man cannot e'en afford *one* lackey to maintain?
These all are foul abuses, and justice doth proclaim,
That all things be in common, and our style of life the same.

. . . . . .

"No, fool, but peace, nor interrupt my speech.
First, then, of all the property which every man has got,
Together when collected, I would make one common lot;
From that fund we the women will, like provident trustees,
Apportion out to each enough for comfort and for ease."

The principal doctrines, besides community of goods, are community of women; all children to be the children of the state; no more courts or jails; no more crime, robbery, or gambling; the halls of justice to be converted into feasting-rooms for the great socialistic community; and so on. Blepyrus listens to his wife's reforms with astonishment; throws in here and there a sly objection, all of which she nimbly evades by some ingenious proviso to meet the case; so that, when she puts him the question, —

"These specimens how like you of our skill in legislation?"

he is forced to answer, —

"Unqualified applause do they deserve, and approbation."

Praxagora then assumes the dignity of office, and sends forth her edicts by the public crier, who is now, of course, a woman. Communism is at once to be introduced. Obedience is paid by the citizens generally; the public squares and streets are filled with people bringing pots, kettles, and every kind of household stuff to the common stores. They talk together on the way, and discuss, in the most comical manner, the new measures. Preparations are busily making to inaugurate the reformation by a grand banquet. At length a crier enters, summoning every citizen to repair, straightway, —

" Unto our Lady President, to draw
The lot which shall assign where each shall sup.
The tables are already laid, and groan
'Neath ample piles of every savory viand.
Couches are set, luxuriously bespread
With tapestry and skins; while ranged in order
Stand goblets, brimming with their perfumed liquor;
Slices of fish are simmering in the pan,
Prime hares are roasting, and rich omelets frying;
Chaplets are weaving, and choice sweetmeats baking,
While pots of pea-soup bubble o'er the fire."

One refractory citizen refuses to join his property to the common stock; but insists on having his share in the supper. This is followed by a curious, but excessively broad extravaganza, between a young man, on his way to visit the maiden he loves, and three old women, who in succession, each uglier than the other, claim his first attentions, according to the law promulgated for the purpose of securing equal rights to the old and ugly. Two of them attempt to enforce their title, and to drag him away. The third comes up, as she says, to befriend him. Seeing her he exclaims, —

" Ye Pans, Corybants, Castor, and Castor's twin brother,
What shape meets my view! a hag worse than the other!
By all that is hideous in earth or in air,
Thy name, race, and purpose, dread phantom, declare!
Art some ape, daubed with paint, and tricked out for a show,
Or a beldame sent up from the regions below?"

But his resistance is of no avail. He is in the hands of the law, and, as he is escorted out, sings his own funeral dirge.

Now a maid-servant, half tipsy, rushes in, and describes the glorious doings at the banquet.

" Happy is Athens, happy too am I,
Thrice happy is my mistress, for *she* shares
The state's authority; so too are ye,
Our neighbors all, and tribesmen; and again
Right happy I, though but a humble handmaid!
'T was fragrant odor that with which to-day
My hair I essenced, but more fragrant far
The perfume which those Thracian casks sent forth.
Doubt ye my words? does not the generous liquor
Long time retain its influence on the brain?

Whereas the odor, like a flower that withers,
Soon flings its sweetness on the desert air.
Far better then, ye gods, it is to quaff
The offspring of the grape! so fetch me wine,
And of the choicest vintage, that throughout
The livelong night my soul may swim in gladness."

She invites the present company, including the chorus and her master, in her mistress's name, to hasten to the festive hall. The invitation is also extended, in the spirit of the most comprehensive jollity, to the critics and spectators.

The play closes with a change of scene, representing a splendid banqueting-saloon, filled with long tables, crowded with guests; on the tables is spread a feast, described in a single word, but that word fills seven or eight lines, being compounded of the names of all the dishes in the hall, representing philologically what we call philanthropically the *solidarity* of society.

"Limpets, oysters, salt fish,
And of skate, too, a dish,
Lampreys, with the remains
Of sharp sauce and birds' brains,
With honey so luscious,
Plump blackbirds and thrushes,
Cocks' combs and ring-doves,
Which the epicure loves,
Also wood-pigeons blue,
With juicy snipes too,
And to close all, O rare!
The wings of jugged hare."

The close of the play leaves the regenerated community in the full tide of successful experiment. This is according to the general spirit of the Aristophanic comedy. The final consequences of the doctrine or system held up to ridicule are usually to be inferred from the whimsical prosperity with which absurdity is crowned.

We think this analysis makes it evident, that one much-agitated set of so-called reforms, commonly supposed to be the special growth of our age, with all the fallacies on which they are built, is as old as the Athenian Commonwealth. The path of true progress does not lie in such erratic directions. The regeneration of society is not to

be effected by the overthrow of the family, the abolition of property, and the reconstruction of the state, but by making them more permanent, by surrounding and guarding them with every support of science, literature, and art; by softening the temper, refining the manners, exalting the taste, and purifying the heart, of the individual. C. C. F.

ART. IV. — THE MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL.*

THE History of the Massachusetts General Hospital reveals the struggles, labors, and success of benevolent effort, when made with perseverance and discretion. It shows that great amounts of time, talent, and money have been diverted from their ordinary courses, and applied to the relief of the suffering, in the periods of their greatest distress.

"Hon. William Phillips, by a codicil dated April 18th, 1797, proved in 1804, bequeathed the sum of $5,000 to the town of Boston" towards building a hospital, to be paid by his executors as soon as the town "should determine to begin the work."

This is the first conception of a hospital, and the first substantial movement toward it. But here the matter slept until August, 1810, when Drs. James Jackson and John C. Warren, then and now at the head of their respective branches of the profession, prepared a circular, which they sent to the wealthy and benevolent citizens of Boston, to awaken in them an interest in this subject. This letter is printed entire in the History. It is an earnest appeal to the hearts and intelligence of the people, and a satisfactory argument for the establishment of the hospital. They say: —

"The wealthy inhabitants of the town of Boston have always evinced that they consider themselves as 'treasurers of God's bounty'; and in Christian countries, in countries where Christian-

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* *History of the Massachusetts General Hospital.* By N. I. BOWDITCH (Not published.) Boston: Printed by John Wilson & Co. 1851. 8vo. pp. 442.

ity is practised, it must always be considered the first of duties to visit and heal the sick. When in distress, every man becomes our neighbor, not only if he be of the household of faith, but even though his misfortunes have been induced by transgressing the rules both of reason and religion." — p. 3.

The letter points out the classes who need the advantages of the proposed institution, — the poor, those who were not paupers nor supported by the public treasury, — who sustained themselves in health, but could not do so in times of sickness; those who lived in crowded tenements, where the sick could not be properly attended; journeymen mechanics, laborers, servants, female domestics, — those who had no home of their own and no relatives able to take care of them; residents in boarding-houses and hotels, especially strangers; and a class of others who lived in other towns, but wished to avail themselves of the city physicians and surgeons for the cure of their difficult diseases.

All these, in their times of sickness, needed a home, where they could receive the proper care and tender nursing which could not be given them in their ordinary abodes; and for these the wealthy and charitable of Boston were asked to lend their aid and to give their money.

Aid was asked to establish also an asylum for the insane, whose maladies could not usually be healed at their homes, and who could not be kept there without great difficulty and distress to their friends.

This appeal was so true to the circumstances and liabilities of the inhabitants of large towns, it was addressed so truly to the feelings and reason of the people, that it excited great general interest, and induced several citizens, in February, 1811, to obtain from the legislature a charter for a hospital, and substantial aid in its establishment.

The charter incorporates James Bowdoin and fifty-five others of the most distinguished inhabitants of the various towns in the Commonwealth, by the name of the Massachusetts General Hospital, with power to hold real and personal estate of the yearly value of thirty thousand dollars. The Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, President of the Senate, Speaker of the House, and the chaplains of both houses, are constituted a Board of Visitors. The institution is placed under the care of twelve trustees, of

whom four are chosen by the Board of Visitors. A grant was made of the Province-House estate, with authority to sell the same and use the proceeds at pleasure, provided that within five years an additional sum of $100,000 should be obtained by private subscriptions and donations. A further term of five years was granted by the act of 1813.

The corporation was soon organized and the officers chosen, and attempts were made to raise the money. The most respectable and wealthy were enlisted in the work. But the times were unfavorable. The nation became involved in war, commerce was suspended, business was depressed, and the earnings of the people were diminished. The burdens of unavoidable taxes were as great as they could bear. And although the public looked with favor on the proposal and the corporation, and their friends made every effort in town and country, yet they could not raise money sufficient to justify a beginning of their work until 1816, when the trustees bought the Barrel estate for the McLean Asylum, and in 1817 they bought the four acres on which the Hospital now stands, in Boston.

"On Saturday, the 4th of July," 1818, "the corner-stone of the Hospital in North Allen Street, in pursuance of the vote of the trustees, was laid in Masonic form by the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts, in presence of his Excellency the Governor, his Honor the Lieutenant-Governor, the Honorable Council, many charitable societies, the Selectmen and Board of Health of Boston, the members of the corporation of the Massachusetts General Hospital, and a great concourse of citizens who assembled to witness the ceremony." — p. 38.

The Hon. Josiah Quincy delivered the address.

The Hospital was completed in 1821, and on the 3d of September the first patient was admitted.

The Asylum for the Insane was opened in the autumn of 1818, and in November there were nine lunatics in the house. The history of the first patient was singularly indicative of the need of such an institution, both to cure the insane and to teach their friends a better mode of treatment.

"A father asked to have his son received as an inmate; and the committee spent three hours in conversing with him in order

[illegible] the circumstances of the case. He informed them, that he [illegible] one of those persons spoken of in the [illegible] and, when asked what remedy he had adopted, replied, that he had been in the habit of visiting him. The young man was entirely cured." — p. 28.

Thus after a struggle of eight years, in which the government and the persons of influence, of learning and of wealth, had been brought together zealously, and in which effectually the Asylum for the Insane was [illegible] and in three years more the Hospital was opened for the sick poor.

As the means had been given to purchase the lands, erect the buildings and furnish them with the necessary machinery and apparatus, and to commence the work of healing, [illegible] establishments. Before 1818, more than $[illegible], the sum required by the charter, was raised; the Province House, the gift of the State, was worth $[illegible]. From that time to the present, this institution has been blessed with donations and legacies. Whenever money has been wanted for either establishment, it has always been found. During this period, they have gone on in prosperity and usefulness. They have grown in extent to meet the increasing demand, and the means of sustenance have increased as they were needed.

For the original foundation, —

"There were in all one thousand and forty-seven subscribers, residing in Boston, Salem, Plymouth, Charlestown, Hingham, and [illegible] (including a few residents elsewhere). Two hundred and forty-five of these, by subscribing $100 and upwards, became members of the corporation." — p. 30.

The original subscribers gave $143,280.50. In 1844, two hundred persons gave $62,550 to enlarge the Hospital. The donations and legacies received to this time amount to $523,522.86.

Any person by giving $100 has a right to fill one bed with patients for one year. There have been ninety-four of these subscribers, whose gifts amount to $65,069.17. Some have continued these gifts through many years, and have generally left their free beds to be filled at the discretion of the officers of the Hospital.

The Hospital Life Insurance Company was required

by its charter to pay a certain proportion of its surplus profits to the Hospital. Besides, the trustees invested a part of its funds in that company's stock. From both of these sources there has been received, during twenty-two years, the sum of $ 150,687.50.

The whole of these gifts, grants, and legacies amount to $ 949,122.10.

Besides this, the Hospital has a reversionary interest in several grants and bequests, which, though not now available, are estimated to be worth at the present time $ 210,000, and the rights in the Life Office charter $ 100,000. The whole of these sums amount to $ 1,259,122.10.

This is the sum of the gifts of the State, and towns, charitable societies, and all classes of people. They are principally the gifts of the wealthy, though the donations vary largely, from that of Mr. John McLean and his widow, amounting to $ 119,858.20, and that of Mary and Jeremiah Belknap, amounting to $ 99,882.50, down to the widow's mite of those who had large hearts with small pecuniary means.

Thus we see that this institution was established on a sure foundation. It grew out of, and was adapted to, the wants of the people. It was safe in the confidence of the community that it was fitted to their necessities, for they were satisfied that, when they should suffer from disease of body or mind, they could there find the best skill to heal them and the kindest attentions to soothe them. The institution was equally secure in the confidence of men of wealth and benevolence, whose money had built and supported it, that whatever should be given to it would be bestowed on a worthy object and be faithfully applied to its purposes of love and charity.

The management of the institution has been the same from the beginning. The trustees have been annually chosen, and yet there has been comparatively little change. Seventy-four different persons have acted in this board. Some of them have served many years, and, excepting the recent appointments, all but ten have served more than two years. In their election, the visitors and the corporation have not confined themselves to the corporators, but have gone abroad and selected from the whole community those who were interested in the

work. The list of the names of these officers is a guaranty of good management in the affairs of this institution. They are among those who are best known, who in public and private enjoy the highest confidence of the people. They are men of the world, engaged in the active business of life, or accustomed to bear some of its great responsibilities, or used to the management of their own fortunes. They were therefore fitted to manage the funds of the Hospital, and to deal with the men that should be connected with it.

Their office, however, has been no sinecure. They were intrusted with large amounts of money, and they were to distribute the benefits of this among the suffering. They were intrusted with the diseased members of poor and distressed families; and though they employed skilful and trustworthy persons to attend them, yet they have not rested in careless security that all would necessarily be right; but they have kept a constant and frequent eye on the Hospital and the Asylum, and the patients in each.

The trustees arranged themselves into sub-committees of two. Each was to serve two months. These committees were required to visit both institutions once in each week, learn the condition of every patient, and make a record of the fact. This record is honorable to their devotion and faithfulness in their trust. In the whole period of more than thirty years since the institutions were opened, there have been only thirteen omissions of this weekly visit at the Asylum, and twelve at the Hospital. Considering that these men are nearly all engaged in active and absorbing pursuits, that the Hospital is at the opposite end of the city from the scenes of business, and that the Asylum is two miles from them and in the country, it is a noteworthy fact, that, of more than three thousand and two hundred visits which should have been made, only twenty-five were omitted.

The immediate care of the institutions, the management of their internal concerns, and the treatment of the patients, are intrusted to men of the highest standing. The Asylum is under the direction of a principal officer, who is physician and superintendent. A corps of six surgeons and six physicians has the charge of the patients in the Hospital. All these are selected with so much

caution, and their office is made so honorable, that the appointment is a mark of distinction, for it is evidence of high moral and professional character. The two gentlemen who first proposed the Hospital and sent the circular abroad, Drs. Jackson and Warren, were the first physician and surgeon. Dr. Jackson continued his attendance until 1837. Dr. Warren, after more than thirty years of gratuitous service, is yet one of the attending surgeons, the patriarch of the institution. With such a corps of medical officers, with a body of subordinate coadjutors, stewards, attendants, and nurses, selected with the same regard to their competence, with so much talent, learning, and experience, the Hospital and Asylum have always commanded the confidence of the patients and their friends.

The work that this institution has effected is commensurate with the means, the men, and the money put into its hands. The Hospital received, in the four months of 1821, eighteen patients; in 1822, one hundred and fifteen; in 1823, one hundred and eighteen; and in 1824, three hundred and forty-nine. In 1847, after the new wings were completed, six hundred and seventy-four; in 1849, eight hundred and seventy; and in 1850, seven hundred and forty-six. From September, 1821, to December, 1850, thirteen thousand five hundred and forty-nine enjoyed its benefits. Of these, six thousand two hundred and sixty-five were restored to health, four thousand two hundred and three were relieved and went away, thirteen hundred and thirteen went away unimproved, and eleven hundred and twenty-two went thence to their graves, and were seen on earth no more. Besides these, there were five hundred and twenty-eight who were unfit subjects, or for other reasons left the Hospital without being treated for their diseases.

"How much of joy and of sorrow, of life and of death, is compressed within this little table of admissions and discharges! An *army* of more than *thirteen thousand* sufferers received, comforted, and cared for in our institution; six thousand of these at last discharged well, and four thousand more, to a greater or less extent, relieved: on the other hand, more than eleven hundred of them borne from within our walls to their long home!" — p. 435.

Thus the Hospital has accomplished a great amount of good, much of which could not in any degree, and

much could not so well, have been done without its aid. It is open to all classes, and all have availed themselves of it.

"Every class in the community, alluded to in the circular letter of 1810 as likely to need its aid, has received it. Every profession and occupation in life has, from time to time, here had its representative." — p. 385.

The free beds have been liberally granted to such as needed them, and they have been filled principally by sailors, laborers, journeymen, female domestics, seamstresses, etc., who could sustain themselves in health, but not in sickness. In 1850, two hundred and forty-two paid all the time, seventy-seven a part of the time, and four hundred and twenty-seven not at all. Many of the patients were diseased beyond the art of man to heal before they entered the Hospital. They had exhausted the resources of their family physicians in the city and elsewhere, and came here as their last hope, to try the best skill and means of the Hospital. But all this was unavailing, and some went away unrelieved, and others sank before the wasting destruction which they carried with them to the Hospital. These swelled the lists of the dead, and hence the mortality of an institution of high repute, like this, is greater than that in private practice, — not because disease is more fatal there than elsewhere, but because many with the seeds of death in them are brought there to try one more experiment of cure, after all others have failed.

The McLean Asylum received, during the fourteen months of 1818 – 19, fifty-eight patients, and in 1820, forty-four. These admissions gradually increased with the growth of population and increasing confidence in the curability of insanity and in the efficacy of the treatment at the Asylum, and with the enlargement of its accommodations, until one hundred and seventy-three were admitted in 1850, and there was an average of two hundred and one through the year.

During the thirty-two years of its operation, three thousand three hundred and forty-one lunatics were submitted to its tender care and protection and its healing influences. Fifteen hundred and thirty-eight of these were restored to health, three hundred and forty-four died, and two

hundred were yet under treatment. Many of the others who were discharged were much improved, and made more manageable at home. Thus the Asylum has accomplished an amount and a kind of good which would not otherwise have been done.

The diseases of the mind differ from those of the body, in the greater necessity of special provision for their treatment. The associations and the circumstances of home are favorable to the cure of most bodily diseases, and the conveniences of comfortable dwelling-houses are usually sufficient for their treatment. But most mental disorders are aggravated by familiar scenes and faces, and therefore lunatics need to be separated from home. Some are disposed to wander abroad, and expose themselves to dangers of weather and accidents, regardless of comfort or health. Some are mischievous, and disturb the peace of neighborhoods, and some others are violent, and dangerous to be at large. These, therefore, need the supervision and restraint which they will not submit to from their friends, and which cannot be found in ordinary dwellings, but is provided in asylums.

The history of men's opinions in regard to lunacy and of its treatment is a history of the progress of civilization. Lunatics were the "possessed with devils" among the Jews, the demoniacs among the Greeks, and supposed to be under supernatural influence among barbarians. The world looked upon them with terror, and guarded itself against them. They were confined in the dungeons of castles and in the strong-rooms of convents, sometimes below the surface of the earth, in the Middle Ages, and in the prisons of modern times. They were often chained, and treated as criminals. The rule of one convent in France which received lunatics required that each one should have ten lashes a day.

When the McLean Asylum was opened, the idea that insanity could be cured, or even ameliorated, like other diseases, was but recent, and had not become a popular doctrine. Nothing had been done and nothing proposed for this class of patients here. The asylum at Williamsburgh, Virginia, was the only one in the United States exclusively devoted to them, and the Philadelphia and New York hospitals only received them with other patients. In New England they were still at their homes,

some in cages, some in strong-rooms, and a few of the violent were in prisons. Severity and force, though not always applied, were nevertheless deemed proper means of controlling them on some occasions. The mild and the harmless were generally in families, but some of them were allowed to stroll abroad, sometimes the sport of idle boys, the annoyance of neighbors, or the terror of timid women. We have known the alarm to be sounded, and the doors to be all made fast, because "the crazy man was seen coming."

Some of these lunatics recovered, in spite of this neglect and mismanagement. But restoration was not generally expected. On the other hand, most of them, during the rest of their earthly pilgrimage, were useless to themselves, a burden upon society, and a source of anxiety and distress to their friends.

In this condition, the McLean Asylum found the insane here, and to them and their suffering and despairing friends it offered its protecting care, its soothing influence, and its healing treatment.

The Asylum was planned and built according to the best ideas of the time, and such improvements as observation and experience suggested have from time to time been added. With sagacity and faithfulness to their responsibility, the trustees have selected such men and women for superintendents, physicians, and attendants as were well qualified by their skill to manage the institution, and by their character, self-discipline, and temperament to deal with and influence the insane.

How well the Asylum has fulfilled its promises and the hopes of its friends, we have already shown, and the annual reports, and the observations of those who have visited the asylum, or have had friends there, confirm what we have said.

Thus this great charity has been begun and established among us. The people, especially the wealthy, have supported it with their gifts, and in return men and women of all classes have received back the fruit of their bounty at the Asylum, and some of every class, especially the poor, have enjoyed the benefits of the Hospital.

The large sums of money which have been given have been strictly appropriated to the purposes of the givers; $ 269,463.92 have been expended on the lands,

buildings, furniture, and apparatus of the Hospital in Boston, and $266,345.98 have been expended or appropriated for the lands, buildings, etc. of the McLean Asylum; and all this property is yet there for the exclusive use of the sick and afflicted. Beside these, there is an amount of about $200,000 invested, which yields an income of about $12,000 a year. The rest has been expended in the annual support of the institution.

The question now arises, whether any thing more needs to be done. Or is the Hospital with all these grants in a state for its highest usefulness?

"The Asylum fully supports itself. But there are no free beds in that department, and no means available for reducing the expenses of its patients, except $600 a year derived from Mr. Appleton's $10,000 fund. The sum of $6,000 or even $12,000 a year could be advantageously applied for that object." — p. 437.

The Asylum needs more grounds, for a farm and for gardens. For these two purposes, "two or three hundred thousand dollars could be most usefully applied in reducing the expenses and increasing the comfort of the patients."

The annual expenses of the Hospital in Boston exceed its income by about $25,000. The income from the investment and the Life Insurance Company is only $17,000. There are eighty free beds, and few of the other patients pay more than three dollars a week. This is about half the cost. A separate building is wanted "for contagious, offensive, and delirious patients." The Hospital now accommodates one hundred and twenty patients. Without doubt more would be received if there were room, or if there were means for their support. This institution is then still an object of charity to those who desire to ameliorate the sufferings of humanity.

We are indebted for these facts to the rich and most instructive volume prepared by Mr. Bowditch. Though the volume is "not published," we presume that it is within the reach of professional and philanthropic persons, who will know how to value it.

E. J.

Art. V. — LAYS OF THE SCOTTISH CAVALIERS.*

The publication of the fourth edition of these spirited poems induces us to give some extracts from them to our readers. For they have not yet been reprinted here, and probably are not generally known in America. And yet, although the subjects of the Lays are from Scotch history, there is no reason or probability that their popularity will be more confined to Scotchmen, than has been the admiration of older Scotch ballads or poems.

Here are eight ballads, or "lays," reminding one, by that name, of Mr. Macaulay's idea of reconstructing ballad from history; reversing the process by which ancient history makes itself from legendary ballad. Assuming the position of a bard near the time of the action of his several poems, Mr. Aytoun writes his ballads, as we might almost say none but a Scotchman can. In the midst of their very easy flow, of the very careful language, of the true, elaborate poetical dress, there is retained the real *tang* of the Scotch ballad, — its simplicity, its pathos, its point, and its fire. Indeed, most of the subjects are so near our own time, that he has himself enough left of the personal feeling of the Scotch actors in the scene, to visit the wrongdoers with poetic wrath quite hearty and unassumed. And as Scotch minstrelsy had died out, at least to outlandish ears, from the days of the Covenanters to those of Burns, and as Burns did not indulge himself often in fighting again, in his verse, the battles of Scotland's more recent oppressions, — as the later Scotch poets also seem to have passed many of these trials unsung, — it is very fair, very well for true history, that Mr. Aytoun should, with thorough Scotch poetic indignation, picture the awful shame of King William's massacre at Glencoe, or Montrose's march to the scaffold, or the burial-march of the much-abused Claverhouse of Dundee.

One of the ballads will describe them much better than

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* *Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers and other Poems.* By William Edmondstoune Aytoun, Professor of Rhetoric and Belles-Lettres in the University of Edinburgh. Fourth Edition. Edinburgh and London: Blackwood & Sons. 1851. pp. 351.

we can. It is a pity to subdivide the poem; but here are a few verses from "The Execution of Montrose." He is the Montrose who promised his lady-love that he would make her "famous with his pen and glorious with his sword."

"Come hither, Evan Cameron!
Come, stand beside my knee,—
I hear the river roaring down
Towards the wintry sea.
There 's shouting on the mountain-side,
There 's war within the blast,—
Old faces look upon me,
Old forms grow trooping past.
I hear the pibroch wailing
Amidst the din of fight,
And my dim spirit wakes again
Upon the verge of night!

. . . . .

"I 've told thee how we swept Dundee,
And tamed the Lindsay's pride;
But never have I told thee yet
How the Great Marquis died!

. . . . .

"But when he came, though pale and wan,
He looked so great and high,
So noble was his manly front,
So calm his steadfast eye,—
The rabble rout forbore to shout,
And each man held his breath,
For well they knew the hero's soul
Was face to face with death.
And then a mournful shudder
Through all the people crept,
And some that came to scoff at him
Now turned aside and wept.

"But onwards,—always onwards,
In silence and in gloom,
The dreary pageant labored,
Till it reached the house of doom;
Then first a woman's voice was heard
In jeer and laughter loud,
And an angry cry and a hiss arose
From the heart of the tossing crowd;

Then as the Græme looked upwards
He saw the ugly smile
Of him who sold his king for gold, —
The master-fiend, Argyle!

"The Marquis gazed a moment,
And nothing did he say,
But the cheek of Argyle grew ghastly pale,
And he turned his eyes away.
The painted harlot by his side,
She shook through every limb,
For a roar like thunder swept the street,
And hands were clenched at him.
And a Saxon soldier cried aloud,
'Back, coward, from thy place!
For seven long years thou hast not dared
To look him in the face!'

"Had I been there with sword in hand,
And fifty Camerons by,
That day through high Dunedin's streets
Had pealed the slogan-cry.
Not all their troops of trampling horse,
Nor might of mailed men,
Not all the rebels in the South,
Had borne us backwards then!
Once more his foot on Highland heath
Had trod as free as air;
Or I, and all who bore my name,
Been laid around him there!"

The ballad then describes the end of the "mournful pageant," — tells how and where his sentence was read to Montrose, — and glories in his way of meeting his judges. He returns to his prison, and here is a part of the execution: —

"Ah, God! that ghastly gibbet!
How dismal 't is to see
The great, tall, spectral skeleton,
The ladder, and the tree!
Hark! hark! it is the clash of arms, —
The bells begin to toll, —
He is coming! he is coming!
God's mercy on his soul!
One last, long peal of thunder, —
The clouds are rolled away,

And the glorious sun once more looks down
Amidst the dazzling day.

. . . . . .

"He mounted up the scaffold,
And he turned him to the crowd;
But they dared not trust the people,
So he might not speak aloud.
But he looked upon the heavens,
And they were clear and blue,
And in the liquid ether
The eye of God shone through.
Yet a black and murky battlement
Lay resting on the hill,
As though the thunder slept within,—
All else was calm and still.

"The grim Geneva ministers
With anxious scowl drew near,
As you have seen the ravens flock
Around the dying deer.
He would not deign them word nor sign,
But alone he bent the knee;
And veiled his face, for Christ's dear grace,
Beneath the gallows-tree.
Then radiant and serene he rose,
And cast his cloak away;
For he had ta'en his latest look
Of earth, and sun, and day.

"A beam of light fell o'er him,
Like a glory round the shriven,
And he climbed the lofty ladder
As it were the path to heaven.
Then came a flash from out the cloud,
And a stunning thunder-roll;
And no man dared to look aloft,
For fear was on every soul.
There was another heavy sound,
A hush, and then a groan;
And darkness swept across the sky,—
The work of death was done!"

One of the ballads describes one of the by-scenes of history,—such as are too often left out of books of history,—Edinburgh after the news of the defeat at Flod-

den. Here are the last words of the gallant Provost's gallant speech: —

"Up and rouse ye then, my brothers, —
But when next ye hear the bell
Sounding forth the sullen summons
That may be our funeral knell,
Once more let us meet together,
Once more see each other's face;
Then, like men that need not tremble,
Go to our appointed place.
God, our Father, will not fail us
In that last tremendous hour, —
If all other bulwarks crumble,
He will be our strength and tower;
Though the ramparts rock beneath us,
And the walls go crashing down,
Though the roar of conflagration
Bellow o'er the sinking town;
There is yet one place of shelter,
Where the foeman cannot come,
Where the summons never sounded
Of the trumpet or the drum.
There again we 'll meet our children,
Who on Flodden's trampled sod,
For their king and for their country,
Rendered up their souls to God.
There shall we find rest and refuge,
With our dear departed brave;
And the ashes of the city
Be our universal grave!"

It is charming to see how time and poetry together will set right partisan bigotry. It is hard to form high enough estimates of all our own contemporaries. The man who fully appreciates John Quincy Adams, finds it hard to do full justice to Mr. Calhoun, or perhaps to Mr. Webster. But wait a century or two, — and posterity has no difficulty. Here is Mr. Aytoun, for instance, turning from Montrose and Dundee to extol the Roundhead Milton. Montrose's friends, or Claverhouse's, would have cursed the Puritan's, and have received as keen curses in return. None the less heartily does the bard, two centuries after, turn from his enthusiastic lays in their honor to sing of "Blind Old Milton." With a bravery of license only justified by his success, he brings

the "blind old Milton" himself before us; — the poem being written in the first person.

"And I have walked with Hampden and with Vane, —
Names once so gracious to an English ear, —
In days that never may return again.
My voice, though not the loudest, hath been heard
Whenever freedom raised her cry of pain,
And the faint effort of the humble bard
Hath roused up thousands from their lethargy,
To speak in words of thunder. What reward
Was mine, or theirs? It matters not; for I
Am but a leaf cast on the whirling tide,
Without a hope or wish, except to die.
But truth, asserted once, must still abide,
Unquenchable, as are those fiery springs
Which day and night gush from the mountain-side,
Perpetual meteors girt with lambent wings,
Which the wild tempest tosses to and fro,
But cannot conquer with the force it brings."

The people who make "Selections" from old poets so universally omit Montrose, and his words of fire, that we will copy here, as not known everywhere, perhaps, the lines he wrote on the window of his jail the night before his execution.

"Let them bestow on every airth a limb,
Then open all my veins that I may swim
To thee, my Maker! in that crimson lake;
Then place my parboiled head upon a stake, —
Scatter my ashes, — strew them in the air;
Lord! since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I 'm hopeful thou 'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thou 'lt raise me with the just."

And here we must close our extracts from this really Scottish, and really minstrel-like, minstrelsy. The miscellaneous poems which follow the "Lays" are no less highly finished and no less spirited than they, as, indeed, the little passage we have quoted from the "Blind Old Milton" has indicated to our readers. It must be that we shall yet have more poems by Professor Aytoun to read and to enjoy.

We cannot leave the volume, without directing attention to an Appendix, added in this edition, — in which is

a calm and thorough refutation of some of Mr. Macaulay's inexcusable partisan carelessnesses, when, in his History, he was dealing with the affairs of Scotland. As he offended the Friends in the matter of Penn, so has he offended the admirers of Scotch loyalty in speaking of Claverhouse; not so much by his abuse of him, — for to abuse they were well used by the Covenant and Whig literature of a century and a half, — but by the recklessness with which he has heaped together the abuse of generations, and even added new stings to it. Of his brilliant denunciations of Claverhouse, Professor Aytoun takes fast hold, and strips them very thoroughly to pieces. We will not pretend that our own Whig sympathies are overwhelmed by his exposure, or that we shall easily cease looking at the Scotch Covenanters, even of as late a time as Claverhouse's, as men, many of whom deserved, in their Christian zeal, the fame of martyrs, which Scotland has freely given them. None the less willing are we to say, however, that, as Mr. Aytoun meets Mr. Macaulay in this matter, and discusses his statements as to Dundee, we, who look disinterestedly on the discussion, feel that Claverhouse's defender has the best of the contest, and that, as has happened in so many of the Macaulay wars, the great historian's brilliant descriptions, and panoply of unheard of authorities, prove very carelessly woven, and by no means criticism-proof. Take as a single instance this fine sentence: —

"The victorious party had not forgotten that, thirty-five years before this time," [the execution of Argyle,] "the father of Argyle had been at the head of the faction which put Montrose to death. Before that event, the houses of Grahame and Campbell had borne no love to each other, and they had ever since been at deadly feud. Care was taken that the prisoner should pass through the same gate, and the same streets, through which Montrose had been led to the same doom. *The troops who attended the procession were put under the command of Claverhouse, the fiercest and sternest of the race of Grahame.*"

A very fine sentence, culminating, and written to culminate, with this allusion to Claverhouse. And the whole loses point miserably when it proves, not only that the other details are almost imaginary, but even that the procession was in fact led by one Patrick Grame, officer of the guard in Edinburgh; — a subordinate who wore

that very common Scotch name, and whose duty it was to be present at all public processions of whatever sort. To have changed him into Claverhouse, because Claverhouse's family name was Grahame, was to make a Lord Elgin out of Marshal Tukey.

Now one such blunder is simply amusing in a history which sweeps as wide ground as Mr. Macaulay's. It would be childish to expect he should escape such occasionally. But when it happens, as it happens here, that a wounded partisan can call up fifty such together, relating to one distinguished man, the case is worth criticism, for it becomes serious. The great charm of Mr. Macaulay's History is the brilliancy given to the narrative by those very vivid points of light, with which he calls into high relief the details in which he is interested from the dark canvas of his picture. A charm of great worth it is, — all the more worthy because most historians so neglect it. It is not too much to say, that the peculiar eminence of his history is not so much even his comprehensive groupings of great affairs, as his masterly presentings of little things, the straws which show the current, and give to each time its peculiar character. But this is also the very merit which is invalidated by each of the assaults made upon his volumes. When it is worth the Friends' while, they show that he mistakes George Pen for William Penn. When it is worth Mr. Aytoun's while, he shows that he mistakes Patrick Grame for John Grahame, and then, indeed, calls him James; — that when he speaks of Claverhouse's dragoons, "the dread and abhorrence of Scotland," he means poor Patrick Grame's town-guard of burghers; — that Claverhouse has the name of shooting down saints whom he never saw; — and that his dragoons receive from Mr. Macaulay all the hard names given to any wild troops of their day in Scotland. Such criticisms as these open terrible questions as to those parts of this most attractive history which it has *not* been worth while to examine with this partisan pertinacity. We certainly do not expect even an approach to absolute accuracy in such writing. But, on the other hand, we cannot yet accede to the opinion of an excellent friend, that it really makes no difference which is right, as it was all so long ago. And as Mr. Macau-

lay's new volumes have been announced as soon to appear, we are quite ready to ask for them a sterner examination than it seemed fair to give, at the very first, to their most attractive predecessors. E. E. H.

Art. VI.—GUIZOT ON THE RELIGION OF THE AGE.*

Few men have had a more remarkable career than M. Guizot. An accomplished scholar, second to no writer of his time as a philosophical historian, one of the most eminent debaters and orators of the Chamber of Deputies when it abounded in distinguished men, for years at the head of the French government under Louis Philippe, with a vast and varied experience of men and affairs and with as great an experience of both the successes and reverses of life. Standing, as he unquestionably does, in the front rank of the great men of the age, his views respecting the problems which now perplex society deserve, and will command, the most serious attention.

The volume before us is composed of miscellaneous articles, written at different periods of his life, in part on the subject of education, and in part on the moral and religious aspects of the time. We shall refer to the latter alone, and, without discussing their merits, shall endeavor to present briefly the opinions of M. Guizot on those points in regard to which our readers are likely to feel the deepest interest.

The whole volume is pervaded by, and receives dignity from, a calm and sobered and thoughtful tone of sentiment, which is in entire accordance with the words by which, in the preface, he introduces a statement of his profound conviction of the supernatural character and authority of religion.

"Life," he says, "would not be worth the living, if we drew from it no other fruit than a little experience and prudence in regard to the affairs of this world, just when we are about to leave it. The spectacle of human things and the interior trials

* *Méditations et Études Morales, par* M. Guizot. Paris. 1852. pp. 458.

of the soul, furnish a higher light than this, and one which diffuses itself over the mysteries of nature and the destiny of man and of that universe in whose bosom man is placed. I have received from practical life more instruction on these momentous subjects, than meditation and science have ever given me."

The most important question which M. Guizot discusses is the fundamental one, What is the true religious question of our age? His answer is valuable, as coming from one who is not only a competent observer, and accustomed to philosophical thoughts, but who is also comparatively free from theological prepossessions and biases. His answer is, that it is the question between those who do and those who do not recognize a supernatural order of events in the world; "the question, to call things by their right names, between *supernaturalism* and *rationalism;* — on one side, unbelievers, pantheists, sceptics of every description, pure rationalists, and on the other, Christians." In this statement he would by no means imply that all who reject Christianity stand on the same ground. The difference between the atheist, who denies the existence of a God, and the rationalist, who rests in confidence on the goodness of the Almighty, is not to be measured. But they have this in common, that they reject every thing supernatural, and undertake to explain and govern man and the world without admitting any supernatural interposition; while Christians, of whatever name, and however much they may differ, hold in common a faith in a supernatural order of events. It is the characteristic difference, so far as belief is concerned, between those who are and those who are not Christians. Nor does Guizot consider this a matter of idle speculation, but fruitful in the most important consequences.

"Wherever faith in the supernatural order no longer exists," he says, "man, ceasing to live in the presence of the only power which is above him, and which is able both to satisfy and to rule him, the foundations of moral and social order are profoundly, and ever more and more, loosened and shaken. The cause of civil authority and the Christian religion is a common cause. The divine order and human order, the state and the church, have the same perils and the same enemies."

As the conclusion of his reasonings, he urges on all

Christians, on the Catholic and the Protestant alike, one consideration, as suggesting their first duty to the age in which they live. To whatever church they belong, there is among all Christians a common faith; they believe in a divine revelation contained in the Gospels, and in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world. To whatever church they belong, all Christians, at the present day, have a common cause, and that is to defend the Christian faith and law against impiety and anarchy. This common faith and this common cause are infinitely superior in importance to any of the questions which divide them from one another.

The great dangers of modern society arise out of, and are associated with, this want of religious faith. For this reason, it is the imperative duty of all Christians, whatever their disagreements in the Christian sphere, to sustain each other as natural allies against Antichristian impiety. It will require their united strength to triumph in this war, and to save, at the same time, Christianity and society from the evils which threaten them.

In discussing the spiritual wants of the age, he commences with what he regards as one of the most sublime sentiments of the Gospel, — aversion for evil and tenderness for man, the author of evil, — horror of sin and love of the sinner. To exert any moral influence on man, both of these are essential. He who would promote the spiritual progress of men must inspire confidence by love, and respect by severity, — must demand much of them in virtue, and give them much in love.

The eighteenth century accomplished one great good. It awakened a higher regard for man, it taught us to place a higher estimate on his dignity, his rights, and his welfare. Its great defect was, that, in connection with this, it did not teach that aversion to moral evil which it ought. It was an age of doubt, the great corruption of the human heart, — of doubt, not respecting this or that dogma, but respecting the foundations of moral obligation. Uncertain as to the nature of moral evil, often doubting its existence as any thing different from folly or imprudence, when it encountered it, instead of combating, it excused or denied its existence. Doubts about the reality of virtue were followed, as a necessary consequence, by doubts respecting a future state of existence, and, finally, respecting the being of a God.

Thus, on one side, the eighteenth century taught the love of man; but on the other side, in loosening the faith of mankind in virtue and in God, it left for man no being in the universe above himself. There was no being above man to whom man could direct the natural instinct to admire, revere, and adore. The great intellectual excitement of the age and the wonderful development of human power conspired to increase the evil, until finally man, in a manner, as the object of admiration and reverence, took the place of God.

It did not, however, stop here. Religious doubt tended to inclose man within the horizon of this world. It destroyed those laws, and motives, and hopes, whose power depends on our faith in immortality, and, in doing this, awakened an immoderate thirst for that immediate, earthly, palpable enjoyment which seemed to be the only happiness to which a wise man could confidently look. And although the earlier lesson was the love of man, its later results, unbalanced by faith in God and Futurity, were a fatal, disorganizing egotism and craving for present pleasure. Of course many remarkable exceptions might be found, but such were the tendencies of prevailing methods of thought. Every man not only demanded much, but demanded it promptly and in this world. But the progress of society is slow, and impatience easily took the form of an envious jealousy of all superiority, the results of which are constantly appearing in the social struggles of the age, even in those cases where the ends proposed are the highest and most sacred.

The nineteenth century, according to M. Guizot, is returning to a more general religious faith; but its great defect still is, that it feels no sufficient aversion to moral evil. For any considerable and true progress of society, it is necessary to preserve the love of man; but in order that this love may not sink into a feeble sentimentalism, which, by simply pitying and excusing moral wrong, perpetuates the element of all evil, society must learn the other lesson of the Gospel, which is, while the sinner is pitied and loved, to look with abhorrence on the sin. The hope of society is in that religious faith which carries man out of himself, leads him to reverence a righteous power above him, inspires a love for his fellow-creatures, and an equal aversion to moral wrong, and which,

by revealing a Providence and a future life, makes him less impatient of the trials which belong to this state of mortal discipline, and imparts the knowledge and the strength to meet these trials in such a way that they shall conduce to those great and good ends on account of which their existence is permitted by Providence.

The importance of religion to society appears under whatever aspect it may be viewed. We deplore the condition of the mass of the people, burdened and bowed down by monotonous, precarious, lifelong labors and deprivations; but suffering, trial, and disappointment are not confined to them, — they are the lot of all. The world is weary and heavy-laden, and never was this more keenly felt than in the present age. Doubtless the condition of mankind has, on the whole, improved, but the desires of men have outstripped this progress. Never has human ambition been more impatient, and never have human hearts been cursed with a greater thirst for material prosperity and pleasure. The progress of free institutions and principles makes every thing seem possible and accessible to all, and human desires expand into an illimitable craving.

This state of things finds support in the religious scepticism and the social philosophy of the times. While men are crushed under so many miseries, and while their desires are so inflamed, they are taught sometimes that nothing is to be hoped beyond the earth, and perpetually, that the earth has wherewith to satisfy all; that if one is not happy, it is not owing to the nature of things, nor to his own nature, but to the vices of society, and to the encroachments of the few upon the many. The end of all in this world is happiness. All have the same right to happiness, and the world has the means of happiness for all.

It is not surprising, that restless, jealous passions are kindled up by such language in the hearts of men; the wonder rather is, that the repetition of such sentiments does not plunge the world again into chaos.

Doubtless there are great evils in the world, — great inequalities and injustice and miseries; but though in part they may originate in, or be increased by, defective social institutions, it is not true that all the evil which afflicts the world has this source. It is not true that the earth

was intended to be sufficient for either the ambition, or the happiness, of its inhabitants. It is not true that any reform of social institutions would turn this world into a painless Eden. The origin of evil is in man himself, and, were every other source dried up, it would spring again out of the human will. Limitation, suffering, and trial are among the providential laws of our destiny.

Nothing meets this condition of things but religion. It does not remove trial from the world, but it reveals the purpose of trial. It explains the destiny of man, and, while he is sowing in tears, carries the thoughts forward to a joyful harvest. It inculcates moderation of the desires, and self-control, and charity, and truth, and justice, with the assurance that there is a good Providence over all, and that no righteous purpose, faithfully kept, shall fail of its due reward. It is in the hopes, the motives, and the ends which religion furnishes, that man is to find repose and happiness. Religion, religion, is the cry of humanity, — religion to restrain and to crown human ambition, — religion to support us in trial, and to enlighten with its sublime hopes our mortal sorrows, — religion to give strength and courage both for action and endurance. No social or political institutions can perform this work. They are but as the house in which one dwells, whose walls may protect the body, but do not infuse life into the soul. The more that the minds and hearts of men are awakened and roused to action, the less will the measures of politicians be able to meet the wants of humanity. There is need of a power higher than earthly powers, and perspectives longer than those of this life. The progress of humanity demands faith in God and in eternity.

The relations of Catholicism and of Protestantism in France to each other, and to the state, are of much interest at the present time. Protestantism, founded on freedom of thought, in its essential principle easily harmonizes with the prevailing tendency towards free institutions. But Catholicism is founded on the doctrine of infallibility. It assumes, as its essential and fundamental principle, the perpetuity of a divine revelation faithfully preserved in the Church by tradition, and, as occasion requires, renewed by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, which never ceases to descend on the successor of

Saint Peter, who was placed by Christ himself at the head of the Church. Under an authority like this, all resistance, all question or discussion even, is illegitimate. It requires absolute, unquestioning obedience. On the contrary, the fundamental idea around which a constitutional government is organized is, that all human power is fallible, and needs to be limited and controlled, and that every human society, within certain limits, has a right to limit and control the power which it obeys. The question is, How can two such powers exist together harmoniously on the same soil? The only way in which peace can be maintained is by the entire separation of the spiritual from the temporal power. In past times, the maintenance of this distinction has been as important to the church as to the state, and it is only by being faithful to it that they can be prevented from coming into collision. Let the church, in the religious sphere, maintain its infallibility over those who accept its authority; and let the state, in the social sphere, that is to say, in the relations of the temporal power with the citizens of the country, maintain liberty of conscience and of thought. So long as each power keeps within its limits, M. Guizot believes that they may exist together in harmony.

In regard to the probable fortunes of Catholicism and Protestantism in France, his idea is, that, for a long time to come, both are likely to preserve substantially the same relative standing which they now possess. He anticipates but few conversions from one to the other. He attaches little importance to the efforts made on either side for the conquest of the other; for, though it may be a very serious matter to the individuals who change their faith, the number of changes on either side is not likely to be sufficient to make it a matter of any social importance. France will not become Protestant, nor will Protestantism perish out of France, and this for many reasons.

Catholicism was born in the same cradle with Modern Europe. It has been associated with all the progress, and has survived all the changes, of European civilization. It does not exist merely as a form of church government, but has a firm hold on the hearts of millions, and the same causes which have sustained it through so many ages still support and sustain it.

On the other hand, Protestantism has been put to the severest trial in France. It has had against it kings and people, the literature of the seventeenth century, and the philosophy of the eighteenth. At one time, it has seemed almost extirpated by Catholicism, and at another, absorbed by Philosophy. But in spite of all, it still subsists, and, with increasing liberty, exhibits an increasing energy and life.

Again, these two systems of faith meet the wants of two distinct classes of men. There are those who crave, as the first thing, repose. They are wearied with uncertainty, and are burdened by self-distrust. They long for some port into which no tempest can penetrate. They demand a religion which may support their weakness, instead of stimulating their activity. They are ready to yield up freedom of thought, if, in its place, they can obtain rest and security. Catholicism is wonderfully adapted to this state of mind. It relieves man from the responsibility of thought and moral judgment. It satisfies the heart and imagination, while it relieves the mind from the consideration of those problems which are the perplexity and despair of so many souls. It furnishes opportunity for religious activity, and, at the same time, gives the sense of safety and of rest.

But, on the contrary, there are others to whom intellectual and personal activity is necessary. They feel the need of religion, but they are accustomed to examine every thing for themselves, and to receive nothing except on examination. They desire to escape from scepticism, but liberty of thought is dear to them, and the very problems which are the torture of other minds, they love to investigate. They do not wish for rest, but for activity. For such persons, Protestantism has peculiar adaptations; for, while it demands piety and faith, it requires, at the same time, that men shall use their reason and their liberty.

The great religious conflict of our day is not between Protestantism and Catholicism, but between these two forms of Christian faith on one side, and impiety, scepticism, and immorality on the other. Could they but understand their vocation, they have a common work to perform. It is to reanimate the religious life in these masses of men, whose minds are drifting in the midst of

doubts, and are in danger of becoming alienated from all religious convictions. It is an immense work, for the evil is immense. Happy would it be for the world if all these sects of a common religion, laying aside their mutual strifes, would range themselves under one banner, the banner of Christ, for the conquest of the world to morality and religious faith.

One of the most interesting portions of the volume before us is that in which M. Guizot treats of the natural evidence of immortality. There is nothing novel, perhaps, in his argument, but it is presented with his accustomed force and eloquence. It is founded on the primary instincts of the human mind.

Throughout the world, in all ages, there has existed, under one form or another, a faith in a future state of existence. Whence has it arisen? Not from any of those facts in nature which meet the senses. Every thing on the earth comes to an end. Man himself dies, and is seen no more. So far as the senses are concerned, every thing speaks of death and annihilation. This faith did not originate in human reasonings. It existed before men began to reason upon the subject, and has prevailed even more extensively in primitive and uninstructed times than among philosophers. The existence of such a faith, under such circumstances, is to be accounted for only by the existence in the human heart of a native and instinctive sentiment, which impels man to look forward with expectation beyond his present life. It is a part of his constitution. It needs to be enlightened and guided, and this light and guidance Christianity gives. But this instinctive expectation seems to belong to the human constitution, not less than the moral sentiment which compels us to distinguish actions as right and wrong. If this be so, it cannot be doubted that the reality of things corresponds to the instinct of the heart, and that he cannot be deceived, who, by the side of the grave, is impelled to look up with faith and hope to a higher life. This view he finds support for, in the kind of respect which in all ages men have paid to the dead, — a respect which goes altogether beyond that regard which would be dictated by a proper consideration for the mortal relics of the departed. Without entering into the argument, his conclusion is, that the kind of thought and respect given

to the dead implies a faith in man's immortality; in the individuality of the immortal being; and in the continuance of a certain bond of connection between those who have left the world and those who remain in it.

We have not attempted to give any complete account of the contents of this volume, further than is necessary to show the position of M. Guizot in regard to some of the chief religious questions of the day. His views are interesting, not only because they are the views of a man of great intelligence, but of one who looks on the world as a statesman and philosopher, rather than a theologian. For our own part, he seems to have stated with more precision and force than any other writer of the time, the real question of the age. When we look at the condition of religious faith in Germany and France, and at many of the tendencies of thought which exist in England and in this country, it cannot be doubted that the real controversy is between those who do, and those who do not, recognize Christianity as possessing a supernatural authority. The controversies of Christian sects with each other relate to matters, in the comparison, of trifling moment. The great question is between infidelity and faith. And when we see how infidelity, by confining all man's hopes to this life, by making the pleasures which can be enjoyed on the earth of infinite moment, by fostering a selfish egotism, and by paralyzing the most powerful sanctions of virtue, shoots up naturally into those disorganizing passions, jealousies, and doctrines, which threaten the existence of society, we can hardly avoid coming to the conclusion of M. Guizot, that the great business of Christians, of whatever name, is not to make proselytes from each other, but to unite together in efforts to extend beyond themselves the empire of religious faith, and the authority of religious duty.

E. P.

Art. VII. — AUTHORSHIP OF THE IMPRECATORY PSALMS.

No book of Sacred Scripture has drawn forth more fervent panegyrics than that of the Psalms. Dr. Adam Clarke, the Methodist commentator, calls it "the most useful book in the Bible." "The hymns of David," says Milman, "excel no less in sublimity and tenderness of expression, than in loftiness and purity of religious sentiment. In comparison with them, the sacred poetry of all other nations sinks into mediocrity." Another says: "The excellence of the Hebrew devotional hymns has never been surpassed. Heathenism, Christianity, with all their science, arts, literature, bright and many-colored, have little that approach these. They are the despair of imitators, still the uttered prayer of the Christian world." *

These testimonials are but the utterances of the general feeling, which those have expressed most strongly who have studied the subject most deeply. Yet there is heard, at the close of every eulogy, a voice of qualification in regard to the vindictive character of some of these compositions, which it is hard to reconcile with the teachings of religion, — not only of Christianity, but of that imperfect dispensation under which the ancient Hebrews lived.

The explanations which are usually offered are these. Some have proposed that such expressions should be construed in the future tense, as predictions, so that, instead of "Let his children be fatherless and his wife a widow" (cix. 9), we should read, "His children shall be," &c. Others have urged, that, as David spoke as he was moved by the Holy Ghost, he is not responsible for his expressions. Others, admitting David's responsibility and the unchristian character of the language, have told us that we must judge of David according to the dispensation under which he lived; and that forgiveness of enemies formed no part of that dispensation.†

* Parker's Discourse of Religion.

† Yet one of the strongest inculcations of this duty in the New Testament is quoted from the Old: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him," &c. See Prov. xxv. 21.

These Psalms of imprecation are usually attributed to David, and the occasions are supposed to have been his persecutions by Saul and Absalom. But the probability of their having proceeded from some other pen than his cannot but strike us, on brief reflection. It is a well-settled and unquestioned fact, that the Book of Psalms, so far from being composed exclusively of the productions of David, is a collection of Hebrew lyrical poetry from various authors. Psalm xc., for instance, is ascribed to Moses. Why should we regard the royal bard as the writer of the so-called Imprecatory Psalms? David was of a bold and generous nature, liable to be moved by passion to sudden acts of violence, but not likely to vent his rage in words. His career was eminently successful, and his worst reverses temporary, and such as an energetic character expects and is prepared to encounter. Add to this, they left so little impression of resentment on his mind, that, on hearing of the death of Saul, his first expressions were those of grief; and he mourned for his rebellious son in those touching words, "Would God I had died for thee, O Absalom, my son, my son!"

"But the inscriptions of the Psalms (cix. and others) attribute them to David." They do so; and this leads us to inquire into the character of these inscriptions, and the degree of authority they possess. The question of their authenticity and trustworthiness has been much debated, and the result has been a general agreement among the learned that they are not entitled to implicit confidence. This seems evident from the fact, that "many of them are at undeniable variance with the contents of the Psalms to which they are prefixed." * Thus in the fourteenth Psalm, which bears the inscription, "A Psalm of David," we find a distinct allusion to the captivity in Babylon, which occurred four hundred years after David's time. It is unnecessary to examine the attempts which have been made to reconcile this, and similar allusions in other Psalms, with the inscriptions. Our readers will be willing to acquiesce in the conclusion sanctioned by commentators of such unquestioned piety, learning, and orthodoxy as Calmet and Adam Clarke, both of whom have felt at liberty to set aside the inscrip-

* Noyes.

tions whenever found to be in conflict with indications furnished by the Psalms themselves.

Late writers on the Psalms have seen reason to attribute many of them to Jeremiah. This prophet commenced his career in the reign of the good King Josiah, and lived through the period of degeneracy and decline, under the unworthy successors of that sovereign, to the final extinction of the state. He consequently witnessed the two great invasions of the kingdom of Judah, by Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, who in the first carried away the king, Jehoiachin, and many of the people captive, and in the second, carried away still more, with Zedekiah the king, whose eyes he caused to be put out, when he had slain his sons and many of his nobles in his presence. Then ensued the burning of the king's palace, and of the temple which had been erected by Solomon, and the destruction of the whole city of Jerusalem, so feelingly deplored in the seventy-fourth and seventy-ninth Psalms, and in Jeremiah's Lamentations.

The period of eleven years which intervened between the two invasions was a time of sad disorder and distress. The king, Zedekiah, seems to have been well-intentioned, but powerless between contending factions. One of these factions sided with the Chaldeans, and the other opposed them. Jeremiah took a middle course, and while he by no means cast in his lot with the enemies of his country, yet seeing it was in vain to resist them, after the first conquest, he counselled submission, and distinctly told the king and princes what would be the consequences of further resistance. But the fury of the contending factions was not to be restrained. The king, by refusing tribute, drew upon himself another invasion; the party who favored submission were driven from the city, and joined themselves to the Chaldeans; and so hotly burned the animosities excited in this civil strife, that the king, in his last conversation with Jeremiah, expressed more fear of the Jews who had fallen away, than of the Chaldeans themselves.

On the other hand, the party who remained within the city seem to have given loose to violence and license. Instead of uniting all hearts and hands in resisting the invaders, the powerful oppressed the weak, and lorded it over their sovereign. The law of Moses allowed slavery,

but enjoined that, after six years' service, the slave should go free. This merciful provision of the law had been evaded by the masters, who contrived to hold their slaves in permanent bondage. At length, the remonstrances of Jeremiah, aided by the approach of the Chaldean army, which they could not but look upon as God's instrument of vengeance, had induced them to give liberty to their slaves, and (Jer. xxxiv. 8) the covenant was solemnly ratified by the king. But at this juncture the Chaldean army, under an alarm that a hostile force was coming against them from Egypt, retired from before Jerusalem, probably harassed in their retreat by the Jews from the city (xxxvii. 10). This so elated the before humbled and penitent nobles, that they retracted the concessions made in the time of their distress, and "caused the servants and the handmaids whom they had let go free, to return, and brought them into subjection again" (xxxiv. 11). Of course this was not done without resistance, and such scenes occurred as we find described in the tenth Psalm. Jeremiah burned with indignation at this atrocious wrong, and denounced the vengeance of God, in language of unequalled sublimity. "Thus saith the Lord, ye have not hearkened to me, in proclaiming liberty every one to his brother, and every man to his neighbor; behold, I proclaim a liberty for you, saith the Lord, to the sword, to the pestilence, and to the famine, and I will make you to be removed into all the kingdoms of the earth." (Jer. xxxiv. 17.)

At or about this time we suppose those Psalms to have been composed by Jeremiah, which so feelingly treat of the sufferings of the poor under the oppressions of the great; as the tenth, twelfth, fourteenth, fifty-eighth, and ninety-fourth Psalms.

The expostulations of Jeremiah irritated his enemies to a high degree. As these expostulations were accompanied with threatenings of the Divine vengeance to be inflicted by the instrumentality of the Chaldean army, the princes availed themselves of this to charge Jeremiah with siding with the enemy, and to induce the king, who could deny them nothing (xxxviii. 5), to consent to his imprisonment in a loathsome dungeon. Here he lay many days (xxxvii. 16). At length Ebed-melech, the Ethiopian slave (probably a black man, but not certainly

so, for the name of Ethiopian was given also to some Asiatic tribes) interceded with the king for him, telling him that Jeremiah could not long endure such cruel treatment; and, by orders from the king, he took with him men, with cords, by which they drew up Jeremiah from the dungeon, and he was kept in the prison, but more kindly treated, and remained there till the city was taken.

It is interesting to remark that, at this very time, while he was shut up in prison, the brightest visions of the future destinies of his country were revealed to him (ch. xxxiii.). It was divinely impressed upon his mind ("the word of God came to him and said") to buy the field of his family, in his native village of Anathoth, and thereby show his confidence in his own predictions, expressed in these words: "Thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel; yet again shall houses and fields and vineyards be bought in this land."

When the city was taken, the Chaldeans spared Jeremiah, whose influence they knew had been for peace, and permitted him to choose whether to go with them to Babylon, or remain among the ruins of the city. He chose to remain, and there poured forth that pathetic elegy which we have under the name of the Lamentations of Jeremiah, in which the fallen city is represented as a widowed mother, sitting solitary, and weeping for her children.

The remnant of people who were left by the Chaldeans continued their dissensions, parties alternately rising and falling, and always with violence and bloodshed; till, against the advice of Jeremiah, they determined to leave the ruins of their city, and to emigrate to Egypt. Jeremiah went with them, and there died, stoned to death, as the tradition is, by his countrymen, who were irritated by his denunciations of their idolatry.

After this cursory survey of the history of Jeremiah, let us examine some of those Psalms which our theory supposes to have been written by him. Psalm xciv. appeals to Jehovah, "to whom vengeance belongeth, to render a recompense to the proud." "They smite down thy people and afflict thine heritage. They say, The Lord shall not see, neither shall the God of Jacob regard it." To this he replies by asking, "He that planted the ear,

shall he not hear? he that formed the eye, shall he not see?" All this may apply as well to the oppressions suffered at the hands of the invading army, as to those inflicted by the great among their own countrymen; but when we come to the twentieth verse we find a pretty clear indication that the latter were meant. "Wilt thou have any fellowship with the throne of iniquity, which frameth mischief by a law?" This verse admits of being rendered, "Shall Jehovah bless the throne of wickedness, that compelleth labor beyond the statute?" The statute is Exodus xxi. 2. Psalms lviii. and lxxxii. also allude to the perversion of law to favor oppression.*

In Psalm x. a similar train of thought is followed. The oppressor is represented as deceiving himself in the same way (ver. 11). "He saith in his heart, 'God doth forget; he hideth his face, he will never see it.'" To which the Psalmist rejoins, "Thou dost see it; yea, thou beholdest malice and oppression, to requite it with thy hand," &c. The whole Psalm is a description of results likely to follow an attempt to reimpose slavery on those who had tasted the sweets of liberty, which one would think must have been drawn from the life.

The concluding verses have puzzled the commentators. They are clear, upon our theory, which supposes the words, "The heathen are perished out of his land," to refer to the retreat of the besieging army, which the Psalmist regards as the effect of Divine interposition. In the following verses he expresses the hope that God would in like manner interpose for the deliverance of the poor and humble among his people, "that the man of the earth [or land] may no more oppress."

The twelfth Psalm seems to be upon the same topic, and, in its allusion to "the tongue that speaketh proud things," seems to describe the state of insubordination to which King Zedekiah testifies, when he says to the princes who demanded that Jeremiah should be put to

* In the eighty-second Psalm, verse 7, we read, "Ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes." On which a commentator remarks, "It seems needless to say that these princes should fall like one of the princes. Bishop Hare therefore proposed an emendation of the text, whereby it should read, 'one of the poor,' instead of 'one of the princes.'" But if, as we think, Jeremiah composed the Psalm, the words seem to be an obvious allusion to the fate of those princes who had been carried into captivity with King Jehoiachin, some years before.

death, "Behold, he is in your hands; for the king is not he that can do any thing against you." (Jer. xxxviii. 5.)

We now come to the consideration of those Psalms which describe, in the strongest language, the sufferings of the author, and abound most in vindictive expressions against his persecutors, as the twenty-second, the sixty-ninth, and the one hundred and ninth Psalms. Of the first named, the twenty-second, we shall say nothing, but only refer the reader to Dr. Noyes's remarks in his Notes to the Psalm. He suggests Jeremiah as the author.

The sixty-ninth Psalm is an outpouring of the grief and indignation of the sufferer, excited by unjust persecution. The following coincidences with Jeremiah's acknowledged writings strengthen the opinion that the Psalm is his.

Ps. lxix. 2. "I sink in deep mire," &c.	Jer. xxxviii. 22. "Thy feet are sunk in the mire," &c.
3. "Mine eyes fail while I wait for my God."	Lam. iv. 17. "Our eyes fail, looking for help in vain."
7. "For thy sake I have borne reproach."	xv. 15. "For thy sake I have suffered rebuke."
12. "They that sit in the gate speak against me, and I am the song of the drunkards."	xx. 7. "I am in derision daily; every one mocketh me."

Psalm lxxiv. is a vivid picture of the last scene of the captured city. "God's enemies roar in the place of his solemn assemblies." The Temple is profaned. "Like those who raise the axe against a thicket, they break down the carved work thereof with axes and hammers." "They cast fire into the sanctuary; they cast down to the ground the dwelling-place of God's name."*

There would be no hesitation in ascribing this Psalm to Jeremiah, were it not for the ninth verse, which says, "There is no prophet among us, nor any one that knoweth how long this desolation shall endure." Perhaps a reference to the circumstances of the time will show that this objection is not insuperable.

The history shows that there were in the latter days of

* Noyes's version.

the kingdom many false prophets, and that they were the bitterest enemies of Jeremiah. And it was upon this very topic, the destined duration of the captivity, that they were at issue with him (Jer. xxvii., xxviii.). The false prophets ventured to name two years as the time at the expiration of which Jeconiah, the captive king, should be restored to them, with all the vessels of the Temple, which had been carried away. Jeremiah, on the contrary, distinctly fixed it at seventy years (xxv. 11), and scrupled not to warn the people against his opponents in these bold words: "Thus saith the Lord, Hearken not unto their words, for they prophesy a lie unto you, for I have not sent them." Enraged at this language, "the priests and the prophets took him, saying, Thou shalt surely die" (xxvi. 8). But on this occasion the princes rescued him. Under such circumstances, it is no longer improbable that Jeremiah might have said, in the Psalm which we attribute to him, "There is no prophet among us, nor any that knoweth how long," — not stopping, in the full tide of a lyric effusion, to make an exception in favor of himself.

We come now to Psalm cix., the most remarkable, for the vindictive character of its language, of all the Psalms. All the commentators known to us acquiesce, with more or less hesitation, in ascribing it to David, excepting De Wette, who says, "The imprecations are to me an objection; David's history exhibits no such dispositions." He adds, "I conceive this Psalm, with the similar one, Psalm xciv., to apply to national enemies, and thus find an explanation and excuse for their maledictions." But he admits that the fact that the poet formerly lived in friendship with the objects of his present denunciation is an objection to this view.

The improbability of David's using such language must be admitted. Jeremiah, on the other hand, was in many respects the reverse of David, — a forlorn and persecuted patriot, living in the worst of times, and witnessing through his whole career scarcely a gleam of prosperity. His genius was plaintive and sad, his message to his countrymen one of warning and threatening, and his persecutions endured at their hands such as might well produce extreme resentment. That we do him no injustice in supposing him capable of using the language

which we find in this Psalm appears from Jer. xviii. 18 *et seq.*, where almost the same occurs.

Ps. cix. 5. "They have rewarded me evil for good and hatred for my love."

4. "For my love they are my adversaries, but I give myself unto prayer."

9. "Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow. (10.) Let his children be continually vagabonds, and seek their bread far from their ruined dwellings.

11. "Let a creditor seize all that he hath, and let a stranger plunder his substance," &c.

13. "Let his posterity be cut off; and in the generation following let their name be blotted out.

14. "Let the iniquity of his fathers be remembered with the Lord, and let not the sin of his mother be blotted out."

20. "Let this be the reward of mine adversaries from the Lord."

Jer. xviii. 19. "Give heed to me, O Lord, and hearken to the voice of them that contend with me.

20. "Shall evil be recompensed for good? for they have digged a pit for my soul. Remember that I stood before thee, to speak good for them, and to turn away thy wrath from them.

21. "Therefore deliver up their children to the famine, and pour out their blood by the force of the sword, and let their wives be bereaved of their children, and be widows, and let their men be put to death; let their young men be slain by the sword in battle.

22. "Let a cry be heard from their houses, when thou shalt bring a troop suddenly upon them; for they have digged a pit to take me, and have hid snares for my feet.

23. "O Lord, thou knowest all their counsel against me to slay me. Forgive not their iniquity, neither blot out their sin from thy sight, but let them be overthrown before thee. Deal thus with them in the time of thine anger."

One only remaining objection to our theory occurs to us. "May not Jeremiah have borrowed the language of the Psalms?" This would require us to suppose that there were two among the sacred writers, instead of one, who could use such language, and two occasions in the history of the nation that could call for it. On the other hand, there is no inconsistency with history in the supposition that Jeremiah was the author of the Psalms in question, and their correspondence in sentiment and

subject with facts which are recorded in his history strengthens the probability that they proceeded from him. By ascribing them to him, we relieve the character of David from what must strike every one as highly inconsistent with it, while we lay upon Jeremiah no other charge than what his acknowledged writings show him liable to, and that charge greatly relieved and mitigated by the peculiar circumstances of his time and situation.

T. B.

Art. VIII. — SQUIER'S NICARAGUA.*

The official character in which the author of these elegant volumes visited Nicaragua gave him peculiar facilities for becoming acquainted with the social and political condition of the people; and at the same time his interest in the question of an interoceanic communication across the country rendered him observant of its physical aspect and resources. But in addition to these advantages, the close habits of investigation acquired during his researches into our own Indian antiquities made him careful to search for and examine the various historical monuments to be found in different parts of Central America. Hence his volumes will be generally read; and considerable weight and authority will necessarily attach to his opinions. Yet it is unfortunate for his reputation as a scholar, that the literary merits of the work are not of a higher order. The style is often loose and inelegant, with many colloquialisms and cant phrases, which, however common they may be, cannot pass current in good society, or be admissible in books of any pretension to permanent value. It is but just, however, to add, that his language is not unfrequently clear, concise, and idiomatic; and we regret that it should be at all open to the criticism we have suggested.

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* *Nicaragua; its People, Scenery, Monuments, and the proposed Interoceanic Canal. With numerous original Maps and Illustrations.* By E. G. Squier, late Chargé d'Affaires of the United States to the Republics of Central America. In two volumes. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 8vo. pp. xxii. and 424, 452.

The maps and illustrations are well executed, and much increase the value and beauty of the volumes.

The work is divided into five parts. The first part is introductory in its character, and fills about forty pages. It comprises a general account of the geography, topography, natural history, climate, and productions of Central America, but more particularly of the State of Nicaragua. The remainder of the first volume and nearly half of the second volume are devoted to a narrative of Mr. Squier's residence in the country, with remarks on the natural scenery, the habits and manners of the people, occasional references to passing events in the political history of the nation, and descriptions of various idols which had hitherto been undiscovered. The third part occupies a little less than a hundred pages, and treats of an interoceanic canal. The fourth part extends over only fifty pages, but contains a large amount of information respecting the geographical distribution, language, religion, manners, customs, and institutions of the aboriginal inhabitants. The concluding part traces the history of the country for the last thirty years. This division of subjects is sufficiently convenient and exact, though it destroys the unity of the book; but in our remarks we shall not confine ourselves to it, and shall draw our materials indifferently from each part, and from such other sources as are accessible to us.

It is evident, however, that any attempt to present a survey of the political condition and prospects of any one of the countries of Central America must be very general, and so far unsatisfactory, in its results. In the unsettled and disturbed state of affairs among them, and in the absence of exact and reliable information in regard to the various changes incident thereto, it is impossible to tell how permanent any form of government is likely to prove, or over how great an extent of territory it may be recognized and obeyed. Already, since Mr. Squier left Nicaragua, great changes have taken place there, of which he gives no account; and it has passed through a severe and protracted revolutionary struggle that can hardly yet be considered at an end. Even while we write, we have reason to anticipate still further changes in the foreign and domestic relations of the country. It is still very uncertain to what degree the

attempt to form a federal union of the principal states may ultimately be successful, or how far the government can maintain its integrity. But we may venture the opinion, that republican institutions can never be settled on a firm basis until the advantages of education shall be more generally diffused, and religion shall take a deeper hold on the minds and hearts of the people. It is equally certain that monarchical institutions can never again prevail there; and whatever institutions shall be firmly established must be modelled in some measure after our own.

In view of these facts, some question may arise as to the policy which the United States should adopt in its intercourse with these republics. But on one point there can be no doubt or hesitation. We ought steadfastly to adhere to our settled policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other nations, while we cannot but feel the deepest sympathy with them in all their efforts to maintain their freedom and nationality, or to improve their actual condition. Yet it is not less clear, on the other hand, that our government ought not to permit any European power to interfere in the domestic concerns of any of the independent states on this continent. And here we feel compelled to say, that, so far as we understand our author to institute an unfavorable comparison between the policy of the administration at the head of which Mr. Webster is placed, and that pursued by Mr. Clayton, we do not concur in his views. We entirely dissent from them. Into the discussion of this question, however, we shall not enter. The propriety of the rule by which political discussions are excluded from this journal is so manifest, that we shall only remark, that in our judgment it will be fortunate indeed for our prosperity and fame as a nation, if the distinguished statesman who now holds the place of Secretary of State, and whose transcendent abilities have ever been devoted to the glory and honor of our common country, shall continue to preside over our foreign relations. It is fortunate that he has the conduct of them now, when all things seem to indicate a renewal of that fierce conflict which marked the era of the first French revolution,— now, when it seems, in the glowing language of another, "as if the prerogatives of crowns, and the rights of men,

and the hoarded-up resentments and revenges of a thousand years, are about to unsheathe the sword for a conflict in which the blood shall flow, as in the Apocalyptic vision, to the bridles of the horses, and a whole age of men shall pass away, — in which the great bell of time shall sound out another hour, and society itself shall be tried by fire and steel, whether it is of nature and nature's God, or not." * Now, more than ever before, are we called by every consideration of prudence and wisdom to maintain with a firm and steady hand that policy which originated with Washington, and has been more or less closely observed by every administration since his time.

The republic of Nicaragua is situated wholly within the tropics. According to Mr. Squier, it extends from 83° 20′ to 87° 30′ west, and from 9° 45′ to 15° north, embracing an area of about 59,000 square miles, or about one quarter larger than the State of New York. But this estimate includes a portion of territory claimed by Costa Rica, and a much larger region known as the Mosquito Coast, nominally subject to the Mosquito king, but in reality governed by British influence. The principal city on this coast, however, San Juan, or Greytown, as it is sometimes called, is now a free city, with its own municipal laws and regulations, framed by an administrative council of five persons, — of whom two are Americans, — and a chairman, who is the present British Consul. The area of Nicaragua is, therefore, considerably less than it is estimated by Mr. Squier, and is somewhat undefined.† Nor can its population be exactly determined; but it probably amounts to about a quarter of a million. Of these only ten *per cent.* are whites, the rest being Indians, negroes, and of mixed races.

The country is generally mountainous, or extends into immense plains raised at a considerable height above the level of the two oceans. It is traversed through its whole length by two ranges of mountains, branches of the Cordilleras. These are in some places broken and interrupted, and have doubtless been modified in their character by volcanic action. For, like most other tropical regions, Nicaragua contains numerous volcanoes, and is

* Speech of Hon. Rufus Choate, in Faneuil Hall, November 25, 1851.

† In the American Almanac for 1852, it is estimated at 49,000 square miles, which cannot be far from the truth.

subject to earthquakes, — a fact that can hardly fail of exerting some effect on its political prosperity, and of presenting an obstacle to the construction of railroads, canals, and other internal improvements. It contains no good harbor on the Atlantic, except San Juan, which, as we have already observed, has recently become a free city; but it has several on the Pacific, accessible and safe for ships of the largest class. Its rivers are numerous, but not of large size and not generally navigable; and Mr. Squier expresses the opinion that the San Juan, the largest and most important of them, cannot be made suitable for navigation except by very small vessels. Indeed, he thinks it would be much more practicable to cut a canal parallel to it, than to improve the present channel.* The principal means of water communication between the different parts of the country are, therefore, afforded by the two great lakes, Nicaragua and Managua, measuring together about one hundred and seventy-five miles in length, and connected by a narrow creek, which, however, is rarely filled with water, and cannot be used for purposes of navigation. They vary in breadth from thirty-five to sixty miles, and are of considerable depth. Upon their shores, or within a few miles of them, are nearly all the chief towns, including Leon, Managua, Nicaragua, Masaya, and Granada, which alone contain about a fourth of the entire population. In and around these lakes are also seen some of the largest volcanoes; and upon the islands that dot their surface are found the remains of ancient art and superstition, buried in a thick and tangled growth of woods and reedy grass.

The climate, of course, differs in different parts of the country. Upon the Atlantic, where the land is low and covered with a rank vegetation, it is warmer and damper than it is in the interior or on the Pacific. There the weather is represented as being mild and salubrious, and the usual range of the thermometer is only from 78° to 88°; yet it sometimes rises in the warmest part of the day to 90°, and falls during the night to 70°. There are only two seasons, the wet, beginning in May and continuing until November, and the dry, embracing the rest of the year. During the wet season showers are of frequent

* Vol. II. p. 225.

occurrence; and vegetation acquires a rapid and vigorous growth, though Mr. Squier thinks less rain falls than during the same period with us. But during the dry season, every thing becomes parched and withered; the marshes are dried up; and nearly the whole country is burned over, and thus cleared of the underbrush that would otherwise greatly impede travellers and prove a constant source of disease. "The sky," says Mr. Squier, "is cloudless, and trifling showers fall at rare intervals. The fields become dry, cattle are driven to the hills and forests for pasturage, and the dust in the towns becomes almost insupportable. It penetrates everywhere, permeating even through the tiled roofs in showers, and sweeping in clouds through the unglazed windows."*

The animal creation is neither remarkable for interest nor beauty. Alligators, iguanas, and various ugly and poisonous reptiles and insects abound. Snakes are common and venomous; while sharks are found even far in the interior of the country.† The principal wild beasts are the jaguar, the puma, and the coyote or wild dog, besides several varieties of the mountain cat. The birds have the rich plumage and disagreeable voices so often found in the tropics. The horses are mostly sprung from those introduced by the Spaniards, and are of small size, but have a rapid and pleasant gait in travelling. Mules are also used for riding; but oxen are generally employed in the ordinary labor of the country, and large numbers of them are raised in the central districts.

The vegetable creation is rich and various. Nearly all the tropical productions may be found there. Sugar, cotton, coffee, tobacco, rice, and Indian corn are the principal staples. Cacao, from which the well-known article called chocolate is manufactured, and indigo are also cultivated to a considerable extent. And among the other products that admit of successful cultivation are plantains, bananas, arrow-root, citrons, oranges, limes, lemons, pine-apples, cocoa-nuts, sarsaparilla, ginger, Peruvian bark, copal, gum Arabic, and caoutchouc. In the forests are immense quantities of mahogany, cedar, and Brazil-wood, besides logwood, lignum-vitæ, fustic, buttonwood, rosewood, ironwood, and Nicaragua-wood.

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* Vol. I. p 31. † Ibid. p. 196.

The mineral productions, though less rich in number and variety, are also deserving of notice. Gold, silver, iron, copper, lead, and sulphur are found; but owing to the rude and unskilful system adopted in working the mines, the annual product is exceedingly limited. Nor is it likely to be much increased as long as the country remains in its present distracted condition, and so much larger returns can be obtained from mining operations in California.

The commercial and political insignificance of a country so abounding in the sources of wealth shows, more clearly than any argument, how wretched must have been the institutions by which its destinies were controlled; for it is deserving of remark, that the slow and limited growth of the country in material prosperity since it threw off the Spanish yoke is owing rather to the want of stability in the government than to any inherent defect in the system. From the difficulty of obtaining reliable statistics, Mr. Squier has given fewer details respecting the commerce of Nicaragua, both internal and foreign, than we could desire. We have not been able to supply the deficiency to any considerable extent; but enough is known to show the ruinous effect of bad policy and misgovernment on the growth of the state. In a foot-note our author gives an extract from a report made in 1837, by Mr. Foster, the British Vice-Consul, in which we have a list of the most important foreign imports, but, unfortunately, without any estimate of their value. In this list, embracing a great variety of articles, wines, silks, olive-oil, linens, and tin are, we believe, the only articles which could not be produced at home; though it is doubtless true, that many articles can be imported much cheaper than they could be manufactured. On the other hand, the exports are small and unimportant, thus rendering the country constantly poor, and, to a considerable extent, tributary to other nations. We have no means of determining the exact relation of the exports to the imports; but an examination of the course of trade with our own country may enable us to arrive at a result somewhat near the truth. According to the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on Commerce and Navigation, submitted January 1, 1851, and now before us, we exported to Central America during the year ending

June 30, 1850, merchandise amounting in value to $ 70,192, while we imported thence an amount of only $ 261,459. This result shows, indeed, a balance against the United States of nearly $ 200,000; but it should be remembered that coffee and indigo, the two most important articles in amount that we import thence, cannot, from the nature of the case, be exported elsewhere, except in small quantities. Nor can the hides and dye-woods, which are the other principal articles imported by us, be profitably exported to other countries on this continent, or to Europe. On the other hand, the chief imports into Central America from the United States are flour, tobacco, ship-bread, soap, rum, heavy cottons, and other coarse manufactures, bearing but a small relative value to the costly imports from Great Britain, France, Italy, and Germany. From this it will be seen how insignificant must be the commerce of Nicaragua, and how small must be the proportion of its exports to its imports. For it should be observed that these statistics include several other countries besides Nicaragua, countries, too, having a much larger trade.

The population is very much scattered; and Leon, the largest town, contains only thirty thousand inhabitants.* No other place has more than fifteen thousand; whilst, of nineteen principal towns enumerated by Mr. Squier, twelve do not contain over three thousand each. Of course, the dwelling-houses and other buildings can offer but little to please the eye, and are generally deficient in what we regard as the comforts of life. The churches, however, form an exception to this remark. Built under the Spanish domination, when Romanism was both feared and honored throughout the country, many of them are splendid monuments of the zeal and taste of their founders. Mr. Squier tells us that the cathedral of Leon, and some of the other churches, are among the finest edifices on the continent. But the houses, in all except a very few cases, are mean and comfortless abodes. In the thinly settled parts they are commonly made of rough boards, or of a cane wicker-work, plastered with mud; and the roofs are thatched with palm-leaves or

* This estimate includes, besides the city of Leon, the Indian municipality of Subtiaba.

long grass. The furniture is equally primitive, consisting in most instances of nothing but a table, a few chairs, and a hammock, or a bedstead made by a green hide stretched on a rough wood frame. In the cities, however, the houses are of stone, with oriel windows and arched gateways. They are rarely of more than one story in height. The roofs are covered with tiles, and project far into the street, so as to form a sheltered walk in front of the house. The windows are never glazed, but are protected on the outside by iron balconies, and on the inside by painted shutters. The walls are also painted; and the floors are paved with bricks or marble. The houses of the richer families in Leon are usually well furnished with sofas, chairs, bedsteads, and other articles of French and American manufacture.

As we have intimated, but little attention is paid to education. In some towns there is not a single teacher of any kind; and even where there is one, his labors do not appear to be of a very efficient kind. From a letter addressed to Mr. Squier, by a well-informed citizen of Leon, we quote a few passages, showing the opinion of a disinterested observer. The importance and interest of the subject must be our apology for the length of the extract. The writer says:—

"In the towns where there are teachers, there are seldom more than one or two public schools; in the larger places there are, perhaps, a few more, but unfortunately all of pretty nearly the same character with those above described. In these schools are taught only the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, reading and writing; nor is this done in accordance with any good system, but generally by a process which is little better than a burlesque. The lesson is repeated after the master, simultaneously by the whole school, and it is difficult to say which shouts loudest, the master or the scholars; but it is always easy to tell the proximity of a schoolhouse, from the noise. The localities of these schools are generally bad and filthy, as is also the clothing of the scholars, which often consists of nothing more than a shirt. In some of the towns, as Masaya, Managua, and Chinandega, the public schools are filled to overflowing, and as each one has no more than a single teacher, he can only bestow a very superficial attention upon the individual scholars. In these towns there are also some higher schools, in which Latin is taught, after the old method, painful alike to teacher and student, and generally with no result except the knowledge that Señor Fulano has stud-

ied this language for so many years! There are also, in these towns, phantom classes in what is called philosophy, the extent of whose acquirements consists in studying badly, and understanding worse, some paragraphs in Lugdunensis.

"Besides their public schools, both Granada and Leon have each a university. That of Leon is oldest, having been founded in the year 1675.

"In these universities are taught the following branches: Latin and Spanish grammar, philosophy, civil and canonical law, and theology. Lately a class in English has been organized in that of Leon; and a class in both English and French in that of Granada. Of mathematics and other cognate branches, nothing is taught, nor scarcely any thing known. The authority in Spanish is Alemany; in Latin, Nebrisa; in philosophy, Lugdunensis; in civil law, Salas; in canonical law, Devoti; in theology, Larraga. The time devoted to these studies is, to Spanish, grammar, and Latin, two years and a half; to philosophy, two years; civil and canonical law, and theology, three years. But many have not the patience to go through the prescribed time, and, leaping over these various branches of study, succeed in securing their titles. There are priests, in orders, who have never so much as read the Padre Larraga!

"In order to obtain the degrees and secure the tassel, it is not necessary to know much; it is enough to have a general idea or two, to stand well with the professors, be able to pay the fees punctually, to spread a good table of refreshments, and to have a blazing display of fireworks. I have known instances in which the candidate did not answer well more than a single question, and yet obtained unanimously the degree which he sought. There are more Bachelors than men; Doctors swarm everywhere; and there are families of wealth and influence in which the tassel goes (practically) by descent!

"The professors of languages and civil law in 1850, in Leon, were very good; but the professor in the latter department, occupied with other matters, has permitted his place to be very poorly filled by certain Bachelors. In fact, all the professors do but little; principally because their salaries are insignificant in amount, seldom exceeding $ 200 per annum. Their lectures are got through with very rapidly, rarely occupying more than an hour each, and are scarcely ever illustrated, or enforced by examples in point.

"Concerning the University of Granada, I am not well informed, but it is doubtless on about the same footing with that of Leon; or if any comparison may be instituted, something worse."— Vol. I. pp. 392-394.

We need add nothing to this graphic picture of the

state of education among the Nicaraguans; and, passing from this point, we proceed to give a brief account of the state of religion, which is represented as being in a not less deplorable condition. Romanism still maintains its ascendency; but it has lost much of its power over the people, since the state became independent; and no other positive faith has taken its place. "Although the people of Central America are still nominally Catholics," says Mr. Squier, "yet, amongst those capable of reflection, or possessed of education, there are more who are destitute of any fixed creed, rationalists, or what are sometimes called free thinkers, than Catholics, or adherents of any form of religion. Many of the priests share in the general scepticism."* Various legislative enactments have been made from time to time, tending to weaken the power of the Church; whilst the respect for its forms, except among the poorer and less-educated classes, has gradually been growing weaker. Mass is less frequently attended; and, in some instances, the churches are kept in repair with considerable difficulty. Though we have no sympathy with the Romish Church, either in its dogmas or its ritual, it is a matter of regret that the institutions of religion should be neglected, and infidelity spring up anywhere; since a marked degeneracy in the character of the people must inevitably be witnessed as the consequence, in a short time. Still, this state of things may not be without a beneficial result, in opening the way for the introduction of a simpler and purer faith.

As is generally the case with an ignorant and excitable population, party spirit runs high in Nicaragua; and, instead of taking the form of a constitutional opposition to the measures of government, it vents itself in revolutionary outbreaks. During the short period that Mr. Squier resided in the country, he witnessed two or three such outbreaks. Consequently, the chief reliance for the support of any legislative act must be in the strong arm of the law, rather than in the patriotism of the masses, or their leaders. But the judicial department does not appear to be in a very efficient condition. Nor is the army much to be relied upon. The officers are not very

* Vol. I. p. 370.

averse to setting up an *imperium in imperio;* and nearly every revolution is headed by some dissatisfied military chieftain. The army itself is poorly constructed, and is formidable to well-drilled troops only from its power of endurance. Mr. Squier gives quite an amusing account of its appearance when under command of General Muñoz, who was then an adherent of the government, but who has since rebelled, been taken prisoner, and, we believe, been sentenced to death. Speaking of the new recruits as they entered Granada, he says, they "were rather a hard-looking set, dressed in every variety of costume, and not particular about keeping in line or marking step. Some wore only pantaloons and hat, the latter not always of the most classical model; some had long legs to their breeches, some short, and some none at all; but they all seemed to be in good spirits, and ready for almost any thing which might turn up. They bowed frequently, beckoned, and sometimes spoke, to acquaintances amongst the spectators." * The regular troops, however, wear a neat uniform, march well, and are a respectable-looking body of men.

The manners of the inhabitants are described as, in general, open, frank, and courteous. Like all the Spanish Americans, they are indolent, fond of pleasure and shows, and always ready for a dance, a procession, or a display of fireworks. The ladies dress in the European style, and many of them are quite pretty and intelligent. In the dry season a large part of the population of Leon go to the shores of the Pacific, where they erect temporary houses, and spend the time in bathing and festivities. At other times their amusements are principally theatrical exhibitions and parties. Whilst in Leon Mr. Squier was present at a bull-baiting; but this is not a very frequent occurrence, and bull-fights are prohibited by law. Gambling is practised to a great extent; and cock-fights are a constant source of delight to all classes. The people, in fact, possess most of the vices of the Spanish character, in some cases increased by long-continued misgovernment; but they have a more liberal and progressive spirit than is seen in the mother country.

Though less rich in the remains of ancient civilization

* Vol. I. p. 200.

than Yucatan, Nicaragua offers much that is of interest to the antiquary; and no part of Mr. Squier's volumes will be read with greater interest, than the chapters describing his discoveries of ancient monuments. Whatever opinion we may entertain of the manner in which he discharged his official duties, — and of this we have avoided speaking, — no one can help admiring the zeal, energy, and perseverance which he displayed in prosecuting his archæological researches. His labors were invariably crowned with success; and from them we gather much curious information to confirm what was before doubtful, and to strengthen our previous opinions in regard to the early history of this continent. Several of the idols which he discovered in his different expeditions were removed, and are now in the Smithsonian Institution at Washington; and of the others accurate drawings were made and engraved for the volumes before us. They are often of gigantic size, and are cut with considerable skill, showing that the art had made good progress among the people by whom they were executed. Most of them represent males, though a few have been found which represent women; and while hardly any attention is paid to anatomy, the distinctions of sex are clearly marked. The backs and necks of many are surmounted by alligators and other animals; and in several instances the head of the human figure is seen within the jaws of some immense beast or serpent. In others, the headdresses of the figures are cruciform, — a fact which has given rise to much unprofitable speculation.

In some of the idols is a hollow place cut out of the stone, and probably designed to receive the blood of the victims offered as sacrifices. Some confirmation is given to this supposition by the fact that our author twice discovered large, flat stones, so exactly shaped to the human form that they must have been designed as stones of sacrifice on which the victim could be laid in order to take his life. None of the figures are so elaborately carved as those discovered by Mr. Stephens at Copan, and described in his very interesting volumes; but time and the violence of the early conquerors have, doubtless, destroyed much that was characteristic in them. Yet it must not be inferred that they are deficient in power and vigor of outline. On the contrary, judging from the en-

gravings, many of them must have not a little of that massive grandeur which belongs to the idols and winged bulls discovered by Mr. Layard at Khorsabad and Kouyunjik, though otherwise greatly inferior to them. This is particularly true of one discovered on the island of Pensacola, in Lake Nicaragua, and which is well described by Mr. Squier.

"It represented a man with massive limbs," he tells us, "and broad, prominent chest, in a stooping, or rather crouching posture, his hands resting on his thighs, just above the knees. Above his head rose the monstrous head and jaws of some animal; its fore paws were placed one upon each shoulder, and the hind ones upon the hands of the statue, as if binding them to the thighs. It might be intended, it probably was intended, to represent an alligator or some mythological or fabulous animal. Its back was covered with carved plates, like rough mail. The whole rose from a broad, square pedestal." — Vol. II. p. 39.

And to this he adds, that he had never seen a statue which so impressed him with the ideas of power and strength. Certainly, none of the other idols of which engravings are given can compare with it in these respects.

Other idols were also found upon the same island, and on the island of Momotombita, in Lake Managua, and at Subtiaba; but the largest number was brought to light on the island of Zapatero. Here they were found to the number of sixteen or more, and in close proximity to each other, but without any apparent order in their arrangement. Near them were several irregular mounds of unhewn stones, which Mr. Squier supposes were originally placed in a pyramidal form, and were used as altars. The figures are all cut in black basalt of great hardness, and are represented entirely naked. They have great individuality of expression; and from this circumstance Mr. Squier concludes, not without reason, that they represent different deities. Besides these idols, he discovered several stones bearing sculptured inscriptions and hieroglyphics, of which no interpretation has yet been offered. In two other places he saw the cliffs and sides of a mountain lake painted with symbolic figures, evidently of a religious character.

Mr. Squier's brief account of the ancient condition of the Indian tribes of Nicaragua will be read with scarcely

less interest than his account of its antiquities, with which the subject is closely connected. Few persons are better qualified to answer the various questions which instinctively suggest themselves whenever we look into the history or condition of the strange and almost unknown people by whom this broad continent was once occupied, than he is, both from his natural taste and acquired habits, and from the attention that he has bestowed on the subject. The Nicaraguan Indians are divided into numerous tribes, some of which are from radically different stocks, though most have close affinities with each other. This distinction of races is specially noticeable in the Niquirans, who inhabited the narrow strip of land between the great lakes and the Pacific, and who were of Mexican origin, differing in many particulars from their neighbors. And it is a curious and striking fact, that not only is their foreign origin made apparent by a comparison of their language with the Mexican dialects, but they have a tradition that they were originally driven from the northwest by a victorious enemy. There are also two other great families of tribes, likewise distinguished by marked differences of language, and respectively occupying the shores of the Pacific, and the mountainous regions in the northern part extending towards the Caribbean Sea. Of these the first are commonly regarded as the original occupants of the country, and the most powerful of all the tribes.

Most of the tribes are supposed to have been governed by hereditary caziques ; but it is still undetermined whether the right of descent was in the male or female line. Some of them, however, are known to have had a more republican system, and to have been governed by a council of old men, venerable alike for their age and their wisdom. Their laws were severe, and were rigidly enforced. Murder was punished by death ; but in a case of homicide the guilty party was allowed to settle the matter by paying a sum of money, or its equivalent, to the kindred of the deceased. Thieves were reduced to slavery ; and this peculiar institution was further recognized by allowing fathers to sell their own children as slaves. Expatriation was permitted ; but no one could carry his personal property with him when he left the tribe. It might be given to his relatives ; but beyond

this disposition he had no control over it, and it remained a part of the common stock. Marriage was a civil rite; and offences against the marriage relation were rigorously punished. If the accounts preserved by early writers are true, the rights of women were more regarded than by most savage or half-civilized tribes. The exclusive privilege of trading was jointly shared by the fair sex and the boys of unripe years; and the men were not even allowed to approach the *tianguez*, or market. According to Oviedo, as quoted by Mr. Squier, the husband was obliged to sweep the house and kindle the fire before he went out. But we strongly suspect that this is apocryphal. They were, in short, an industrious and skilful people; and their houses were almost precisely the same as those now occupied by the poorer classes throughout Nicaragua. They practised tattooing, flattening the head, boring the ears, and other barbarous customs, by way of personal ornament. The men were ordinarily dressed in a sort of cotton doublet, fastened around the waist; the women in a kind of skirt extending from the waist to the knees, and sometimes with a scarf around the neck; and both sexes wore deer-skin sandals, and ornaments of gold, bone, and pearl. The seeds of the cacao furnished a circulating medium for the purposes of trade. Their hostile weapons were the same as those used by the early Mexicans.

Though the habits and customs of the respective tribes differed somewhat, their religious sentiments and beliefs appear to have been nearly the same, and to have corresponded with those held by their Aztec neighbors, on whose civilization, in its various aspects, the judicious labors of another of our fellow-countrymen have thrown so much light. From records of the early conquerors, preserved by Oviedo, and cited by our author, it is probable that they believed in two principal gods, male and female, who were the creators of all things. Besides these were other gods or demi-gods, who aided in the work of creation, and granted special prayers. Those persons who had done well in this life also became gods after death, while those who had done evil were consigned to the realms of the unblessed. Human victims were offered to the principal gods; and the various tribes made war to obtain captives for the purpose of sacrifice. The

bodies of the full-grown victims were eaten by the chief men; but the bodies of the children are said to have been buried. Like all other nations with whose mythology we are acquainted, they had a traditional account of a universal deluge; but unlike most others, they believed that the world was repeopled by a new creation. They had numerous grand festivals, celebrated by dancing around the temple, during which all labor was suspended. Their temples were large wooden structures covered with thatch. Around them were mounds of stones or unburnt bricks which served as altars. Besides these facts there are numerous other statements given by the early chroniclers, concerning the accuracy of which we have strong doubts. Most of them were elicited from the Indian converts in answer to questions propounded by the priests who accompanied the Spanish armies; and as the questions were often leading questions, and the answers intrinsically improbable, we suspect that the Indians not unfrequently misrepresented the belief which they had forsaken.

From all the discoveries that have been made, and from the testimony of early writers, we are justified in assigning to the original inhabitants of Central America, as well as to the inhabitants of Mexico, the character of a powerful, but cruel people, among whom the arts of civilization had been in some degree domesticated, and in whom the religious sentiment had taken deep root. That they were originally monotheistic we do not for a moment doubt, though their historical monuments should seem to indicate that various abstract qualities were clothed with the attributes of deity. From this circumstance we are led to deny a very high antiquity to the remains which have hitherto been brought to light. If any thing is hereafter discovered of a still earlier period, it will doubtless show that a belief in one supreme deity was the central point of their faith, as it seems probable that it was in most, if not all, the ancient mythologies.

But the question of an interoceanic canal appears to have attracted even more of our author's attention than the historical monuments of the country, or the condition and customs of its Indian inhabitants. Of the importance and value of such a communication no doubt can exist in the mind of any one who considers the length of

time required for a passage around either of the great capes, or the dangers attending it. Still, we cannot but think that the difficulty of constructing and maintaining a permanent ship-canal of adequate size across a volcanic country is more likely to be under-estimated than to be exaggerated. A brief statement of the conclusions at which Mr. Squier has arrived may not, however, be without interest to our readers, since he seems to be confident that it is practicable.

Several routes have been proposed at different times; but no authentic survey has yet been made of either of them, so that any estimate of their comparative practicability must be mainly conjectural. Mr. Squier enumerates five that have been suggested; — the Tehuantepec route, which, we believe, is at present the favorite, though our author very quietly passes by its claims; the Isthmus of Nicaragua, as he calls it, by way of the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua to Realejo, the Gulf of Papagayo, or the Gulf of Fonseca; the Isthmus of Panama; the Isthmus of Darien; and the Isthmus between the Rio Atrato, on the Atlantic side, and the Rio Choco, on the Pacific side. Each of these routes, excepting the last, may readily be found on any good map; but the Nicaraguan route is the only one on which Mr. Squier bestows any notice. This offers itself under several distinct lines, each, however, beginning at the port of San Juan, ascending by a canal parallel to the San Juan to Lake Nicaragua, and thence reaching the Pacific by either of five separate routes. These are successively examined; and serious objections are urged against all but the routes ending at Realejo and the Gulf of Fonseca. Either of these is deemed practicable.

Such, then, being the conclusion arrived at, it may be interesting to trace the proposed line, without, however, adopting or rejecting the author's views. The harbor of San Juan is considered as well adapted for all the purposes for which it would be needed. From this point to Lake Nicaragua, by the river, is a distance of eighty-eight miles, or, in a direct line, seventy miles. But, as we have already remarked, it is not thought that the river can be navigated by vessels of any considerable size, in consequence of its numerous shallows and rapids. A canal is therefore recommended on the northern bank;

and this, it is supposed, can be cut without any serious difficulty. On Lakes Nicaragua and Managua little difficulty is anticipated; but in opening a suitable connection between them some trouble may be experienced, though the distance to be excavated is only four miles. Between Lake Managua and the Pacific a canal would be required; and this is asserted to be "entirely feasible." According to this plan the distance from San Juan to the Gulf of Fonseca is two hundred and fifty-four miles, of which ninety-four would require to be excavated for canals. To Realejo the distance is two hundred and seventy-nine miles, of which one hundred and nineteen would be by canals. It is obvious that the cost of an enterprise of such magnitude cannot be at all estimated without an exact topographical survey. That no company of individuals can successfully prosecute such an undertaking is equally obvious. Whatever is done must be done by the credit and resources of nations; and even then millions of dollars must be expended before any appreciable results shall be obtained. That the United States would derive great benefits from the opening of a water communication across the isthmus is certain; and it is by no means improbable that some communication will eventually be opened. But, however important the work may be, it can hardly be predicted that this century will witness its completion.

Mr. Squier, as we have already stated, devotes considerable space to a sketch of the history of Nicaragua. But it has formed no part of our intention to treat of this subject in the present article. Whatever we might desire to say upon it can be more conveniently offered in connection with a sketch of the history of the other Spanish American colonies, if we should think it advisable hereafter to enter into an examination of the different colonial systems pursued on this continent by England, France, and Spain. The subject is one of too much interest and importance to be discussed in the narrow limits that remain to us; and we leave it, with the hope that we may on another occasion be able to bestow some attention upon it.

We have thus endeavored to present, in as few words as possible, a sketch of the actual condition of Nicaragua, with its historical monuments, its great natural advanta-

ges, its poverty, its wide-spread ignorance, its want of a stable government, and its political insignificance. The picture is not without important warning and instruction to us of this country. Seeing the rocks on which our sister republic has made shipwreck of her prosperity, let us beware that we do not fall into the same errors. Let us beware that faction and fanaticism do not rage unchecked through our own land. Let us cherish that love of liberty and obedience to law which our fathers have left us as a priceless inheritance, while we still cleave to the union of these States as the only ark of our political salvation. Let us, above all, cherish those precious institutions of education and religion to which, under the blessing of Him who weigheth nations as in a balance, we owe our continued existence as an independent, sovereign state. So shall we best secure our national growth and prosperity, amidst whatever storms may arise elsewhere, whether in the Old World or on our own continent. And in the noble language of Milton, "if there be any one who thinks that this is not liberty enough, he appears to me to be rather inflamed with the lust of ambition or of anarchy, than with the love of a genuine and well-regulated liberty." * C. C. S.

Art. IX. — CHRIST OUR REDEMPTION.

The subject of this article lies at the basis of Christian theology. It has received of late a good deal of attention, and the views of leading minds in relation to it, hitherto supposed to be quite discordant, have seemed to be shaping themselves into a more homogeneous expression, and converging, if not to absolute unity, yet — which is perhaps better — to a point where harmony becomes the full moral equivalent of unity. In the observations which follow, we shall not discuss the subject controversially, nor with reference to the admissions or denials of others, but shall aim to present some of those positive aspects of it which, we think, must challenge the acceptance of believers generally.

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* *The Second Defence of the People of England.*

We may as well say, however, in advance, that to our apprehension there is but one Saviour in the New Testament, — one Christ, one Christology. We have read much of what has been written with learning and ingenuity on the other side of this question, but it has failed to convince us. To our eye the portraitures of Christ drawn by the several authors of the New Testament all have one look; all agree in the principal features; all exhibit the likeness of the same original, far-seeing Prophet, the same transcendently pure and enlightened religious Teacher, the same benignant, self-forgetting Deliverer, the same exalted Son of God. With such diversities as result from difference in temperament, education, and circumstances, they all present to our contemplation and faith one and the same PERSON as the Saviour of the world, — Matthew and John, Luke and Paul, being only lenses of unequal power through which we behold him. As there never has been written a life of a very remarkable man, however defective in the execution, in which the reader could not discover all the lineaments of the subject; as there never has been painted a Madonna, in whatever coloring, drapery, or attitude, in which the Holy Mother was not at once to be recognized; so in the Gospels and Epistles of the New Testament Christ is at once distinguished and known as the central figure, having the same outline and proportions in all; in one, perhaps, presenting more decidedly the practical aspects of his character, in another the spiritual, in a third the exalted and majestic, but in all exhibiting one single, distinct, unmistakable personality. Assume the highest that is said of him in either, — in the beginning of John, for instance, — and the premises — if not the developed idea, yet the elements of it — shall be found in each of the other Gospels, and in the Epistles of Paul. Assume the *highest*, we say. But the rule will not work the other way. For if the lowest form in which he is presented in any instance be assumed, — let him be made simply a man, for example, largely but not superhumanly endowed, — and many passages may be found in either of the Gospels and in all the Epistles to support such a hypothesis, — let this be assumed, we say, as expressing the *whole fact* concerning him, and it becomes impossible for any ingenuity to reconcile the

several presentments of him so as to produce one identical image; and the consequence would be, that we should be left without any Christ at all!

Now, this one Christ appears in the world as its Redeemer, or Saviour. Through Evangelists and Apostles he has organized a power for accomplishing his work, which is called Christianity. It is a clearly-defined moral and spiritual power. We are able to take a position outside of it and observe it. There it is before us. He into whose soul its spirit has entered beholds it, and as he gazes his heart dilates with admiration and joy; and he whose soul is a stranger to it still perceives and is obliged to confess its sublime reality. There it is, simple, unique, compact, defying opposition, and calmly advancing to universal dominion. It describes itself in terms of marvellous grandeur: — "The power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation"! And so august is it, so extraordinary, so influential over the will, thought, affections, and life of man, that few are bold enough to impugn the claim. There it is before us. Look which way we will, it is ever in sight. We meet it at every step and turn of life. In the organization of civil society around us we perceive its influence as clearly as we see the effect of spring showers in the ripening harvests. At the wedding and funeral alike we encounter it. Its heavenly light is in our school-houses and in our temples of justice. Unnumbered churches are among its numberless creations. In all generous reforms we detect its presence, and in humanities and charities silent and far-spreading it is seen like "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land." There it is before us; and whoever attentively regards it sees that it is a conserver of social order and virtue; that it encourages personal and public improvement; that it broods with maternal love over the young; that it takes a special interest in the poor, the weak, the tempted, the fallen; that it frowns on violence, injustice, cruelty, and every form of selfishness; that it delights in meekness, integrity, purity, forbearance, and brotherly love. As we stand looking upon it, behold! multitudes gather unto it, manifold in condition, and to each condition it assumes a separate and adapted form and life. They come unto it from the outer darkness and are illumined,

— for it is a Sun. They come diseased and crippled in soul, and are made whole, — for it is a Bethesda-pool. They come from life's dusty chase, heated, faint, thirsty, and fill their urns from it, — for it is a Well of living water. The penitent and contrite from the low valley of sorrowful guilt come and kneel before it thankfully, — for it is a Mercy-seat. The afflicted, tossed by the waves of misfortune and bereavement, lay hold on it with strong, calm confidence, — for it is "an Anchor both sure and steadfast." The dying fold it to their bosoms, — for it is the Resurrection and the Life. So stands it before us, — a power, visible, distinct, manifold; and thus variously confessed is its beneficent agency.

Christ has organized this power, we have said; we might rather say he *is* this power, — its source and vital energy, its ceaseless and immortal inspiration. In him it has unity. Through him it is recognized and felt, not as a combination of great religious ideas, or an assemblage of spiritual forces, that may be marked and distributed, but as a single agent, of inexhaustible vitality, animated by one intelligence and acting for one end. Yet nothing hinders that we should reverently attempt to analyze this power; only in doing so let it be remembered that no one element of it must be taken as *alone* of sovereign efficacy, as *alone* possessing saving virtue, as *alone* that to which man may look for life and salvation. Analysis has done this mischief to Christianity, that it has made earnest disciples champions of its separate parts; some, for instance, finding the whole power of salvation in the blood of the cross; others in the simple principles of duty and righteousness as illustrated and enforced by the example of our Lord; and others still in the blessed doctrine and promise of the Divine love and mercy. They thus forget that it is as a *whole* that Christianity operates, — as a *single* power that it acts in the soul and saves it; and in their zealous advocacy of special parts, they are even found depreciating and contending against other parts equally important, and sustained by other equally zealous adherents. This surely is an evil to be avoided.

Now, when we examine this power with the view of seeing how it is composed, it is found to consist of two grand parts, — a living *Spirit* and a multifold *Manifesta-*

tion of that spirit. This spirit, or absolute Christianity, may and does exist independently of its manifestations in Jesus of Nazareth and his disciples. It existed "before Abraham was." It exists in the bosoms of angels. It "was in the beginning with God." And it would be preposterous to deny that it has lived in the souls of many here upon earth by whom the name of Jesus was never heard. Whosoever has received it into his soul, through any medium whatever, — or without medium, by direct communication from the Lord, — is born of God and alive for evermore. But the wisdom of God saw fit to clothe this spirit with a body; and that is now a part of Christianity. Determining that absolute Christianity should be organized, — in order to adapt it to the condition of man as a weak, helpless, sorrowful, fallen being, — He executed this purpose by the incarnation, life, doctrine, death, and resurrection of his Beloved Son. Whilst we humbly study it as thus organized for our help, — looking into the whole "*economy* of grace," — it is only that we may find the redeeming virtue, the *vis vitæ*, the Divine essence which, being in Christ, passes from him into all who truly believe, as the juices of the vine flow into its branches and they live from it. When we have gained that, we have gained all. And when that has been once taken into the soul it is of little consequence whether it were imbibed from the Original Fountain, or from consecrated vessels into which it had been poured. To be made alive by it and filled with it, this is the essential thing.

But it has pleased God in organizing Christianity to make use of certain ritualistic moulds. How far these are necessary in the way of moral impression, or as a nucleus of religious thought and holy feeling, we do not now discuss. Probably, in the case of those who had been all their life long accustomed to the archetypes of them, and had all their religion associated with them, — as of the Jews to whom the Gospel was first preached, — they were quite indispensable. There are persons of a taste so fastidious, that they can read a book only when it is got up in a certain style. It is the style of it which attracts them, and, except for that, they would never look into it. Others, on the contrary, care little about paper and type and binding. All they think of is

what the book contains. We do not say that this example fully illustrates the kind of importance that attaches to the ritual symbolisms of the New Testament; but we say, that all which is exterior is rendered useful solely by the spirit which is in it; and that whosoever comprehends that spirit, and is animated by it, belongs to the company of the redeemed.

Looking at the forms in which absolute Christianity has organized itself, or its manifestations, we notice first its code of morality with reference to its redemptive virtue. Is not this morality very remarkable? Not in its external features, perhaps, does it differ materially from that of the Hebrew Scriptures, of some heathen philosophers, or of the natural reason and conscience. But in its principle, its grounds and motives, its sanctions, how wide the difference! The difference may be partially stated thus. This morality is strictly religious; the other is merely rational and prudential. This receives its impulses from the sentiment of Divinity in the soul, and is enforced by the idea of accountableness in the life to come; the other is supported mainly by considerations of propriety, of present good and ill, and, being animated by nothing higher than this world, often falters and utterly fails when other powers, not of this world, but stronger than it, come into conflict with it. Being strictly religious, it links itself directly to the throne of God, and thus, communicating with the Source of all power and life, is itself powerful and living. It is in the best sense inspired. And so when men examine it, and much more when they attempt to live according to it, they feel that it is almost too elevated for them; that it is high as heaven; that there is no going beyond it; that its uppermost plane is perfection, and that there the human and divine meet. They feel, moreover, that at any given point in it which attracts their present aims, however exalted, there is a higher still to be revealed at that point, of the conditions of which they have as yet no conception. Who dreams that he has exhausted or can ever exhaust the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"? Who imagines that he has come to the end, or can ever in this world reach the end, of the duty and privilege implied in the saying, "Blessed are the pure in heart; for they shall see God"? Whose ex-

perience has yet borne him to that highest peak in the mountain-range of Christian beatitudes, "Blessed are the poor in spirit; for theirs is the kingdom of heaven"? Who is so presumptuous as to suppose that he has yet measured the full power of the motive contained in the declaration, "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me"? Or who shall say that he will not hereafter perceive a force in that severe precept, "If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee, for it is better for thee to enter into life having one eye, than with two eyes to be cast into hell, where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched," — a force compared with which his present apprehension of it is utterly powerless? It is the inexhaustive nature of this morality, — its religious nature in other words, — its direct connection with God, and in its results with eternity, — that renders it so penetrating, awful, irresistible, and so efficacious in redeeming the world. And while this morality is thus religious, it should be observed as a related fact, that the religion with which it is connected is eminently moral. One of its prime ends is a pure morality, and it countenances nothing in its own administration and rites of an opposite tendency. Indeed, religion and morality are here not distinct, but united, by mutual attractions resolved into one another, and, with energies thus concentrated, being equally opposed to superstition on the one hand, and looseness of conduct on the other, they establish along with invincible uprightness a pure and earnest worship. The old religions were different. Some of them were decidedly immoral. Even that which approached nearest to Christianity, the Hebrew, made its ritual more imposing than its moral code. It said, "Take offerings and come before the Lord. Make atonement by sacrifices. Express gratitude by feasting, penitence by fasting." Christianity says, "Let your sacrifices be those of a meek and quiet spirit, a pure conversation, a brotherly walk with man. Your gratitude, let it be expressed in sympathy and alms-deeds, as well as in prayers, and your repentance in newness of life." But not to dwell longer on this difference, it is undeniable that the religious source of the morality of the New Testament and the moral quality of the religion giving to the two con-

sentaneous operation, not only lift it immeasurably above every other system, but explain, in part, its extraordinary influence over the mind and heart in the way of redeeming man from his sins.

Closely connected with this point, and, indeed, growing out of it, are the ideals of Christianity, which are of great efficacy, presenting to the inner sight a moral beauty, loveliness, and grandeur, surpassing all that the mind in its amplest development had ever before conceived. Far up in the sky, where the baptized imagination soars, they shine serene and for ever; and as we fix our thoughts calmly upon them we seem to be drawn towards them till they become very near and ray out their splendors upon our souls. Now, every right-minded person acts under the influence of some ideal, and that influence is more constant and equable, perhaps, than any other by which he is swayed. If it be only an abstraction, — as Beauty, Music, Freedom, Sanctity, — it is often powerfully constraining, and turns him whithersoever it wills. But when it is organized in its appropriate forms; — when beauty is expressed in "the human face divine"; when music has a voice and sings its melodies; when freedom displays its banner and points to its institutions; when sanctity breathes and speaks and lives amongst men; — then the heart is penetrated, the soul moved, the whole being permeated by the influence. Now, the ideals of the New Testament — the sublimest and best — have this advantage, *that they are all incarnated.* Sitting in "the heavenly places of Christ Jesus," we behold in *him* the purity, truth, righteousness, love, which he teaches us to worship, and to which the heart in its best moments strenuously aspires, and by this vision all that is kindred in us is drawn towards him, purified, and expanded. In addition to the enthusiasm which is always produced by the presence of one recognized as a leader strong, wise, and eminent, there comes in the contemplation of him a feeling that here is a Leader and Master who not only knows more than all others, and is better than all others, but one who actually embodies all our purest and highest ideals of perfection, whether human or divine; a being not of "the earth, earthy," but "the Lord from heaven"; and the more simple and radical this feeling becomes, the more forcibly does Chris-

tianity, in all its revelations, principles, and hopes, act upon the mind and character. A close observation of the working of our minds in the direction of religion will show that the consideration which has most weight with us in encouraging self-denial, perseverance in duty, the highest social sentiments, trust and love towards God, is the Person of Christ regarded as a manifestation of all that we conceive of as most worthy and exalted; and that which causes us most regret, humbles us most, brings us to the most lowly penitence, is the deficiency we discover in ourselves, as compared with this Living Ideal, and the violence which has been done by our transgressions to sentiments which tend, in their development and action, to bear us up unto him. The Person, Jesus Christ, not what he taught alone, not his miracles chiefly, not the awful tragedy of his death peculiarly, but his *personality*, — that, we think, whilst it introduced an entirely new power amongst the moral and spiritual elements of the world, is also the most vital and efficient of those elements which, combined in Christianity, are redeeming and saving mankind. This view is sustained by many things which Jesus said concerning himself. When he announced, "I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life," what did he mean, but that he represented in his own *person* the conditions and means of a true and eternal life; and that by looking to *him* in a faith which appropriates the life of that on which it fastens, the soul would be transformed "into the same image, from glory to glory"? When he declared, "I am the Bread of heaven," did he mean nothing more than that his doctrine is divine; or did he not also teach that he himself, *by his own personal life*, seen, revered, and imitated, would be to men hungering after righteousness nourishment and strength? When he said with such earnest solemnity, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you," and, "He that eateth me shall live by me," — what is this but an expression of the great truth that we must look on him till we are converted to him, — gaze in lowly confidence, till, by the attraction of his nature, we are brought into fellowship with him, and the love of God which was the very blood of his life comes to circulate in our veins and warm our bodies, and he, being

formed in us, becomes one with us, our Ideal absorbed into our own being, and that fulfilled of which Paul speaks, — "It is no longer *I* that live, but Christ that liveth *in* me"?

The Apostles were accustomed to contemplate Christ in his total personality, as the source of their redemption. *He* was their "light" and "life." It was *he* by whom they were "justified" and "sanctified." *He* was their "Head"; their "Forerunner into the heavens"; their "Advocate with the Father"; their Wisdom and Righteousness and Redemption. They had heard him say, "He that believeth in me hath everlasting life," — believeth, not in certain things done by me, but in *me*, — and so they said to those whom they addressed, "Believe," — not in these dogmatic formulas, but — "Believe in the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and ye shall be saved." And it was from their union with him in one spirit that they experienced consolation and support in their trials, and were so full of hope and confidence in the hour of their departure. And from their day down to our own all believers have felt themselves strong, divinely led, supported, and comforted, in proportion as they have had the persuasion of a personal communion with him, and been confident that their life was "hid with Christ in God." Nothing else has given them such peace and joy. Nothing else has kindled in them such fervors of hope. Nothing else has afforded them such a triumph over the terrors of death, and spread for them so glorious a prospect beyond the grave.

Add to this the idea, which has come down to us as a part of our religion, very strong in its spiritual influence, — the idea of the actual presence of Christ through all ages in the Church. It matters little whether the name given to this super-earthly Presence be the "Christ," or the "Comforter," or the "Holy Ghost"; it is believed in as a spiritual agent working now and always, renewing the strength when it fails, both in the individual members and in the organic body, preserving the cohesiveness of the parts, moving in its advances as a "pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night," sustaining and directing its aggressions upon the powers of darkness, and so inspiring it with a divine energy and purpose as to make it the Hope of the world. And truly, when signs

and wonders are seen in it as in the day of its first planting; when its young men see visions and its old men dream dreams; when the sycamine-tree of old errors is plucked up by the roots, and mountains of sin are cast into the sea; when the blind read, and the dumb converse intelligibly; when the poor have the Gospel preached unto them, and the rich bring tribute to the temple of universal peace and love, — and all this within the pale of the Christian Church and *nowhere beside*, — the inference certainly is not forced, that the Divine Spirit, which in the early days of the Church wrought miracles to give it "a name and a praise in the earth," still lives in it to preserve its existence, to direct its course, to conquer its foes, and to achieve its final triumph in the subjection of all souls to the Father. Now this Presence, by whatever nominal designation known, is so intimately associated in the believer's mind with his Lord and Master, that he attributes to him, almost of necessity, whatever influence proceeds from it; and so it becomes one of the strongest elements of that power which Christ has organized.

Of organized Christianity Jesus is the Head, as he is the Heart, of its redemptive influence. He is the Sum of all its forces, and the Splendor of all its manifestations. In him the Church lives and moves and has its being; in Jesus Christ *himself*, — not in something he did or suffered, except as that may open to us a view of *him*, — but in the living Christ, as he is now both in history and in fact.

It may serve to confirm us in this idea, if we can bring our minds, for a moment, to entertain the monstrous supposition that there is no longer any Christ, — that he is dead! — and no more to be seen or heard of for ever and ever! How would the frantic strength of such a belief shiver into fragments all else that is called Christianity, and its sorrow robe the Church with a mourning more solemn than any sepulchre, darker than any midnight! No; Christ alive from the dead and the life of the living; Christ standing with one foot on the shore of time, and the other on the sea of eternity; Christ with one hand resting on Heaven's mercy-seat, and the other extended to bless the children of men; Christ the Mediator between God and man, through whom the Father is revealed; Christ filling the mould of our highest ideals,

whether of divine goodness or human excellence, — *he* is the redemptive power of Christianity. Through him it is mighty to the pulling down of strongholds. He is the fountain of its charities. He is the guide of its glorious reforms. And he illustrates and embellishes all its brilliant and triumphant future. In thus speaking, we have full warrant from the Scriptures. What magnificent imagery is that which they employ to describe his personal influence! In the nobility of his strength he is the "Lion of Judah's tribe." In the mild lustre of his character he is "the bright and morning Star." In the influence of his illuminating and transforming example he is the "Sun of righteousness." As binding God and man together, he is the "Mediator of the new covenant." As leading us to immortality, he is the "First-fruits of them that slept."

We are tired of a divided Christ, and of the Christologies of the sects. Did not Christ say, "And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto *me*"? Is not his cross then the symbol of unity to his followers? And as they stand together before it, does it not point to *him* and say, "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world"? Ah! it is not in any dogma about him, — how slow Christendom has been in coming to this persuasion! — not in any theory one may adopt concerning the precise relations he sustains to the Infinite Being, not in any view that may be held of the necessities of his death in reference to the stability of the Divine government, not in any efficacy specially concentrated in his atonement, — these all are minor and incidental points, — but it is in *him*, impersonating the absolute Christianity, in *him* for ever giving out life from his word and spirit, in *him* still "loving his own," and guiding them by his good counsels, in *him* "the Author and Finisher of our faith," that the soul has joy and peace in believing.

The influence of a great name, of a great man, is not that of his separate actions, however remarkable. When the American patriot bows in silent reverence before the statue of Washington, with the prayer that his soul may be filled with the wisdom and nobleness which illustrated his career, he is not thinking of Trenton and Monmouth and Yorktown, and the convention at Philadelphia, or any other fields of his military or civic renown,

but of *him*, — the unparalleled man. Him he venerates, not for his achievements, but for his lofty principles and incorruptible virtue. His actions, he knows full well, were of matchless importance in their time, but all their meaning and worth have been, as it were, emptied into *him*, to increase and perpetuate the majesty of his life; and so it is not them, but him, that he sees, and it is not from them, but him, that the inspiration of patriotism comes.

If it be asked, Did Jesus Christ exist consciously before his birth in Bethlehem? Could God have forgiven men their transgressions and admitted them to heaven, if he had not appeared for their ransom? Could the Almighty have maintained the strength of his law, and the majesty of his government, if he had not voluntarily yielded himself to the death of the cross? Our answer is, in the first place, "Why perplex the matter with questions of this kind, of no practical concern?" And our further answer is, "We know not; but this one thing we know, that whereas we were blind, now we see." The great Luminary shines upon us. We are cheered by his beams. We walk by his light. We are warmed by his heat. With the old Oriental devotion, we bow before him in worship. We do not profess to have solved all the problems concerning his nature, so that we can tell exactly how the light is generated, and what is the substance of the heat, and where definitively the Omnipotent touches and energizes the grand redeeming power. And when these questions are pressed upon us with contentious pertinacity, as though upon our answers salvation depended, we are ready to justify our ignorance with the simple declaration of Jesus himself: "No one knoweth who the Son is, but the Father only." Theology is ever prone to presumption. It does not willingly allow that there are any "secret things belonging to God." It makes his counsels — though they are old as eternity, and embrace the universe, and will stand for ever — matters to be freely explored and accurately defined by mortals. With its intellect a day old, it assumes to decide on the possibilities in regard to human redemption which may be predicated of Him who is "from everlasting to everlasting"; and it proceeds to pronounce as if it knew, that, if this and that had not been done two

thousand years ago, God's eternal law would have lost all its authority, his government failed to command the respect of his moral creatures, and universal anarchy ensued. Presumptuous Theology! is not that sea too deep for thy sounding? Is it not quite as wise, and a little more modest, to believe that, though such events had never occurred, — yes, though the blood of Christ had never been shed by wicked hands! — God would have been almighty still, his government as strong as it is to-day, and his law still revered by just men on earth and by saints in heaven? Not for God, — to answer *his* necessities, — but for man, — to meet *his* wants, to renew *his* life, to give *him* hope, to bring *him* to the Father, — for this cause came Christ into the world, and for this cause he died upon the cross. We behold in him, not the mender of a broken law, nor the restorer of a tottering theocracy, but the Promulgator of absolute law, and the Revealer of the principles and spirit by which God *for ever* governs the world. The spirit in his word was of God. The morality he unfolded is the perfection of law. The religion he instituted is the life of morality. And of that word and law and life he himself is the incarnate Container, and living Expression. Before him, then, let all men bow, as the Light of the world, in reverential homage; and to him let all men be joined in sincere faith, that, being united, his blood may flow into them and cleanse them from all sin, and renew them unto eternal life, and thus their redemption be made sure.

J. W. T.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians: An Attempt to convey their Spirit and Significance. By JOHN HAMILTON THOM. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 400.

THIS is not a commentary conceived after the manner of any one class of the old commentaries, which, time out of mind, in their successive generations, have stood prominently on the shelves of scholars' or ministers' libraries. It is not a verbal criticism on the original text, going into the minutiæ of Greek words and Hebrew idioms. It is not an exposition of the English translation, verse by verse, accompanied with remarks and an improvement, like those of Henry, or Scott, or Barnes. The author has not followed the beaten track, where many have trodden, but where so few have left a trail of light. In form and conception it has some claims to originality, and is every way worthy of approval.

The work is substantially a new translation of the two Epistles, divided into sections, determined by the argument of the Apostle, followed by papers containing the "spirit and significance," the pith and substance, of each section. The translation seems to us a very faithful one. It has the savor of our authorized version. It adopts no unnecessary departure from it; but brings out with unusual clearness the thought of the writer, and makes the Epistles very fair and intelligible reading. Mr. Thom often reminds us of our own Professor Norton; he makes no parade of critical learning, but possesses evidently the happy instinct, the great gift of the critic, of seizing the exact meaning of the original, and of selecting the exact word which expresses it. In his version he acknowledges his indebtedness to the translations of Mr. Edgar Taylor and Mr. Sharpe.

The papers at the close of each section, to be read always, the author says, in connection with the text, constitute a very valuable part of the work. They are not a running paraphrase, like that of Doddridge, which dilutes without adding much to the clearness of the original. They do not reproduce every thought of the Apostle; they do not follow him into the irrelevant statements, the occasional episodes into which his impetuous genius betrayed him, but what they undertake is to exhibit the strong, clear line of argument which the Apostle is pursuing, and the grand conclusions at which he arrives. If the author has taken any of his predecessors as a model, we should say, in the mode of investigation which he adopts, and in the comprehensive spirit which he manifests, he most resembles Olshausen, who has

been called the prince of commentators. Mr. Thom places himself in the attitude of the writer, contemplates the world from his point of view, and sees in the Apostolic Epistles a profounder spiritual thought than has often been discerned in them. He does not go deeply into Christian antiquities, nor supply by conjecture what history does not teach. He frankly acknowledges an ignorance of many things alluded to by the Apostle, and of the exact nature of the errors which he undertakes to refute, and of consequence admits difficulties which he cannot fathom. For instance, the knotty passage in the eleventh chapter, "For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head because of the angels," which in the authorized translation means nothing, he renders as follows: "For this reason ought the woman to wear upon her head the indication of her voluntary subjection to lawful power, because of the angels; — according to the beautiful sentiment of the Jewish and early Church, which assigned to each individual an angel, whom they would offend by license or irreverent boldness." He adds in a note, "This seems doubtful; but I can find, or suggest, nothing more satisfactory." In this spirit of moderation and modesty the author goes through the Epistles. He places himself in the devout attitude of the learner, and, with a profound reverence for the wisdom, eloquence, and spiritual power of the great Apostle, he rewrites the Epistle on his own heart, and then pours out the clear, strong current of spiritual thought that is in him.

We sincerely thank Mr. Thom for his book. It is only one among the valued gifts which we have received from our brethren in England. We have been instructed and quickened by it. Although the author warns off scholars and deep students of the Scriptures from its pages, we think they may approach them with profit. If they do not find here actually new views, they will recognize some of their old ones, the best and most cherished, reproduced in living forms. And for those who would read these sublime Epistles for their own enlightenment, not as scholars, but with interest and intelligence, — who would follow the Apostle in his powerful argument and in his lofty flights of devotion, — we would earnestly recommend the volume. We know of none better.

The Doctrine of the Trinity a Doctrine not of Divine Origin: and the Duty of Christian Men in Relation thereto. By George Stewart Hawthorne, M. D., Liverpool. London: E. T. Whitfield. 1851. pp. 243.

We know nothing of the author of this book; but he evidently belongs to the Church Militant, — not retired and pensioned, but

with hands fresh from the battle, and garments dripping with blood. The warlike attitude of this new defender of the ancient and venerable doctrine of the Divine Unity may be seen by a glance at the table of contents. He undertakes to show, — 1. "That the doctrine of the Trinity has not been from the beginning, as is unveritably alleged of it." 2. "That the Scriptures do not exist in their original integrity, but have been corrupted by additions and interpolations." 3. "That Christ and his Apostles knew nothing of the doctrine of the Trinity." 4. "That the Trinity is the mark of the beast, and the number of his name." 5. and lastly, "That because of Trinitarianism the evangelization of the world tarries, that there shall be no rain or dew from heaven till our Trinitarian idolatry be abolished."

We confess the belligerent tone of the book is not to our taste. We do not like to see the awful imagery of the Apocalyptic visions, originally employed to describe the arch-enemies of religion, applied to any class of Christians, however erroneous their doctrines. It does not improve the temper to call men hard names. They will not be more likely to reëxamine and reconstruct their creed by being informed that it is "the mark of the beast," "the mystery of Babylon, the mother of harlots and abominations." Touched with the tale of some recent persecution, the spirit of the author seems stirred within him, and he may claim that he gives way only to a righteous indignation; but we would remind him of the words of our favorite hymn: —

> "Speak gently, — let no harsh word mar
> The good we may do here."

But we have a heavier charge. In that part of the argument, founded on what he calls the corruptions of Scripture, there is a recklessness and extravagance of language which his better judgment cannot approve. He speaks of the interpolations and additions of the Scriptures in a style to throw discredit on the whole volume, though he professes to reverence them. He urges that critics have enumerated thirty thousand various readings, but he has not mentioned that not one in a thousand of them affects the sense of the sacred writings, and that not a half-dozen in all have a bearing on any doctrine or precept of the Gospel. In the same spirit of extravagance he asserts that the text in Matthew xxviii. 19, containing Christ's direction to his disciples to baptize in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, is not supported by critical authority, nor sustained by logic, for it stands in direct and palpable contradiction with other passages on the same subject. On what critical authority does he maintain this? The integrity of the text is unquestioned by Griesbach, Kuinoel, Rosenmüller, and every critic whom we have seen; and where is the contradiction be-

tween this and the other forms found in the Epistles and adopted by the early Church? There may be a difference, but there is no contradiction between a part and the whole. Both from education and conviction, we are devout believers in the doctrine of God's unrivalled supremacy; we welcome every new statement of the argument; we are glad to see a strong blow struck in its defence; but we are impatient of rash criticisms and sweeping assertions. *Non tali auxilio.* We doubt not the author's sincerity, — his dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury is earnest and respectful, — but we cannot in truth say that he has added largely to our theological stores.

Lectures on the History of France. By the Right Honorable Sir James Stephen, K. C. B., LL. D., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge [England]. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 8vo. pp. xvi. and 710.

The distinguished ability which Sir James Stephen has shown, in his various contributions to the Edinburgh Review, has long been familiar to us. We were led, therefore, to anticipate a work of more than ordinary brilliancy and power, when it was announced that the lectures delivered by him as Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge were to be printed. That this anticipation has not been fully realized is owing to circumstances over which he had but a partial control. In a dedicatory epistle to the Rev. Dr. Whewell, Master of Trinity College, he relates the circumstances which influenced him in the choice of a subject, and which induced him to prepare and publish his lectures at so early a period after his appointment. When he received the offer of the historical professorship, made vacant by the death of the late William Smyth, Esq., he applied to Mr. Macaulay, to Dr. Whewell, and to another friend, for their advice in regard to the performance of its duties, — remarking, however, at the same time, that he proposed to devote his lectures to the history of France. In answer to this application, Mr. Macaulay stated as his opinion, that, of all the portions of French history, the wars of religion offered the richest and least exhausted field of investigation; and that, if this view was adopted, it would be necessary for his friend to dedicate several years to silent preparation before he could speak with authority upon a subject so encompassed with theological bitterness and bigotry. The advice was worthy of the most accomplished of modern historians; and could Sir James have followed it, we do not doubt that he would have immediately taken high rank as an historian. We need no other assurance of this than his able and eloquent

papers on Ignatius Loyola, and the Port-Royalists, in the Edinburgh Review, and the two lectures on the wars of religion, in the volume before us. But Dr. Whewell, to whom, as head of the principal college, the utmost deference was due, told him that it was expected, and indeed required, that he should commence his public lectures at once; and the third friend, Mr. John Austin, advised him to treat of the institutions of the old French monarchy. This advice he felt compelled to adopt, though at the sacrifice of that personal distinction which he would have gained by following Mr. Macaulay's judicious suggestions. The lectures thus prepared are marked by great learning and eloquence, and by a general soundness of judgment. They exhibit the results of conscientious study and research; and it is evident that our author, as he himself claims, has declined no labor, mental or bodily, which he could sustain. Still, they are too often deficient in depth and originality; and they offer many points for controversy. The causes assigned for particular results are not unfrequently those which are apparent on the surface, while those more efficient causes which are in some degree hidden from observation are either overlooked or not indicated with sufficient clearness and precision. In one instance, at least, we think Sir James has signally failed in his attempt to solve the problems which French history presents at almost every step.

The lectures now printed are twenty-four in number, and comprise two courses of twelve lectures each, respectively delivered in the Easter Terms of 1850 and of 1851. The topics of which they treat are the following: — The decline and fall of the Romano-Gallic province, and of the Merovingian dynasty; the character and influence of Charlemagne; the decline and fall of the Carlovingian dynasty; the anti-feudal influence of the municipalities, of the Eastern Crusades, and of the Albigensian Crusades; the influence of the judicial system and of the privileged orders on the monarchy; the States-General of the fourteenth, the fifteenth, and the sixteenth centuries; the sources and management of the revenue; the power of the purse; the Reformation and the wars of religion; the power of the pen; the absolute monarchy as successively administered by Henry the Fourth and by Richelieu during the minority of Louis the Fourteenth, by Colbert and Louvois, and by Louis the Fourteenth in person; and finally, the comparative growth of the French and the English monarchies. In the narrow limits of a notice we cannot even allude to the many interesting points which this rich and varied table of contents suggests. This inability we regret the more, since in an extended review we should be able to enrich our pages with several extracts which in strength, eloquence, and beauty of expression, and in soundness of statement, would lose

nothing by comparison with the finest passages that Sir James Stephen has ever written. In the few remarks which are all we can now offer, we shall confine ourselves to one or two points only, with the confident hope that our readers will be led to examine the volume for themselves.

Our first remark, however, must be of the nature of adverse criticism. One of the chief problems in French history has reference to the overthrow of the Merovingian and Carlovingian dynasties. It is thus stated by our author: — "What were those abiding springs of action by the elastic power of which each of the Franco-Gallic dynasties successively arose with such similar energy, declined with such similar promptitude, fell into so similar a lifelessness, and made way for so similar an aristocratic usurpation?" Many writers have attempted to solve this problem; but none of their answers satisfy Sir James, and he proposes a new solution. He finds the efficient cause in the barbarism of the nation; and by this term he means "that condition of society in which government is not and cannot be maintained by moral restraints and influences, such as love, reverence, and policy, but is and can be maintained only by physical power on the side of the rulers, and by abject terror on the side of the people." Now, without stopping to examine the accuracy or the inaccuracy of this definition, we submit that the theory based upon it, though sufficiently well adapted to the state of France at the first epoch, fails to meet the requirements of the case in the second instance. Yet we are distinctly told: — "The barbarism of Clovis and his descendants rendered them incapable of establishing a moral dominion, and therefore incapable of establishing an enduring dominion. The barbarism of the Franco-Gallic people rendered them incapable of enduring the moral dominion of Charlemagne and his successors, and therefore brought that dominion to an abrupt and untimely end." We deny the truth of the latter proposition, while we give a qualified assent to the former. That the French people were devotedly attached to the institutions which Charlemagne sought to supplant, and that the system which he sought to introduce was ill suited to their condition, are facts that cannot be controverted. But from neither of them are we justified in predicating barbarism as the cause of the downfall of the Carlovingian empire. We are compelled, therefore, to reject the new theory which Sir James presents for our consideration. Unless we are to seek the explanation of this problem, as well as of so many others, in the peculiar character of the French people, as it is exhibited in every period of their history, we must rest satisfied with the answers given by previous writers. For our own part, however, we are not a little inclined to say with La Rochefoucauld, "*Tout*

arrive en France." Still, no one who desires to understand the subject in its length and breadth will fail to make himself acquainted with the nineteenth and twenty-fourth lectures of M. Guizot's course on the *Histoire de la Civilisation en France.* The great powers of that all-accomplished scholar and statesman were never more successfully exercised than when treating this subject.

We cannot extend these observations to any of the other questions which Sir James Stephen's volume suggests. We can only remark, that, though he rarely excels when he attempts to tread in the path of the philosophical historians, in narrative he takes the first rank. Few persons can write more clearly or more eloquently than he does, when narrating the events of any particular period. His best lectures, therefore, are those which contain a large proportion of narrative. Among them are the two lectures on the crusades, the two on the Reformation and the wars of religion, and the lectures on the States-General, the minority of Louis the Fourteenth, and one or two others. The least satisfactory are the three on the power of the pen in France. They are feeble, and of questionable accuracy in several particulars.

A Monotessaron, or the Gospel Records of the Life of Christ, combined into one Narrative, on the Basis of Dr. Carpenter's Apostolical Harmony. Edited by RUSSELL LANT CARPENTER, B. A. London: E. T. Whitfield. 1851. 16mo. pp. 248. [Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co.]

THE four Gospels have been subjected to treatment such as no other class of histories could bear with any thing like the same result, so far as it would affect their authority or their value. We have long been satisfied that a Harmony of the Gospels, according to the popular conception of such a work, is a thing equally impracticable and undesirable. At the same time, the four Evangelical narratives leave upon our mind an impression of real harmony, such as our ears have never yet caught from the blended notes drawn from any instrument, whether of four or any other number of strings. Dr. Carpenter's Apostolical Harmony, in connection with its valuable apparatus of dissertations and notes, is by far the best work of the kind which has ever been in our hands. But while the excellences of the work, its learning, candor, ingenuity, and reverential spirit, give to it a high place in our regard, the details which his scheme involves, and the unsatisfactory conditions which it requires, only confirm our conviction that there is an inherent and insurmountable difficulty in the very nature of the undertaking.

This unqualified expression of our conviction that a Harmony of the Gospels, in a literal and complete sense of the phrase, is an impossibility, will, of course, be understood as applying to the minutiæ of the narratives, and not to the essential facts which they embrace. Whether some brief discourses of the Saviour, and some of his works, were or were not repeated, with slight variations, and under different circumstances; whether the same words and actions have been reported with such an oversight of the unities of time or place as to appear like repetitions, or even like discrepant relations; whether it is possible to arrange the incidents of the narratives according to a calendar of weeks and months; — these are questions which, in our view, do not affect the integrity of the Evangelical records. We suppose the Evangelists to have written with full memories and with illumined spirits. If they have neglected the proper sequence of the incidents which they relate, or have divided or united the Saviour's discourses, we are rather gainers than losers, because the life and doctrine of Jesus Christ, not depending upon such *harmonies* as are thus neglected, are made to present all the more points which attract our scrutiny and engage our study.

Meanwhile, the various processes to which Christian scholars have subjected the Gospel narratives have involved much more of a bold violence, and of a disregard of the literary integrity of the records, than we can lay to the charge of the Evangelists in their neglect of the lesser conditions of harmony. We have had little volumes from the press which have respectively embraced the following contents, selected, according to the judgment of the compilers, from the four Gospels: — The Words of Christ; The Precepts of Jesus; The Parables of Jesus; The Miracles of Jesus. We have also a compilation which aims to cull from the Evangelists a connected narrative, embracing the fullest account of any incident or discourse given by either of them, and omitting all repetitions.

The little work before us, the title of which explains its chief object, will be greatly valued by a large class of readers. Its highly esteemed compiler, with marked modesty, is content with announcing that he has only carried out an intention of his late father, whose labors facilitated the present execution of it. Still, there were difficulties to be met with, and the necessity of a sound judgment, of ripe scholarship, and of a pure taste is so obvious in such an undertaking, that the son who has admirably done his work deserves to share equally the praise of its excellence. The narrative in this volume is composed of more than sixteen hundred portions, and yet the compiler has been able to arrange and combine them without finding it necessary to supply more than thirty words.

The I. II. III. Philippics of Demosthenes. With Historical Introductions, and Critical and Explanatory Notes. By M. J. SMEAD, Ph. D., Professor in William and Mary College, Virginia. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. xvi. and 240.

THE works on the Greek Orators, which were published in this country before the appearance of the present volume, consist of the Orations on the Crown, by Mr. Alexander Negris; the same, together with Select Popular Orations of Demosthenes, by Professor Champlin; and Professor Felton's edition of the Panegyricus of Isocrates. The book before us is one of more pretension than any of its predecessors, and has been prepared under peculiar advantages. It is a work begun, labored upon *con amore*, and completed by the editor while pursuing his Greek studies in Germany under the instruction of the great scholars, and with the literary apparatus, of that land of scholars and of learning.

Taking the Vulgate as the basis of his text, Professor Smead has used an independent judgment in choosing between the different readings, following chiefly, however, the famous Parisian Codex Σ, which now holds so high a place in the esteem of the critics. He has given various readings in foot-notes, as the European scholars have been accustomed to do, and is the first editor who has given us an example of this in this country in the Greek, a distinction which Professor Lincoln also may claim in the Latin department, by his recent handsome and well-digested edition of Horace. Nor will this feature be entitled to consideration by its novelty alone. The critical student will thus have an opportunity to see the fluctuations of manuscripts, and to learn how they arose, and this will, at the same time, enlarge the circle of his studies, and impart to it a new interest.

The Introductions and the commentary are composed with very accurate and extensive research. An extraordinary degree of attention has been bestowed on the historical, geographical, and political allusions contained in these orations, and though we should pronounce this to be the most valuable portion of the work, we would not say that the grammatical difficulties are not well treated. The translations of obscure and complicated sentences, explanations, and illustrations, quoted from foreign scholars, are often given in their vernacular; and while we question the expediency of this course in a book intended for general use among young students, we find some excuse for it in the circumstances under which the work was prepared. No apology is necessary for the use of the Latin language in this connection, as the editor of a Greek classic can reasonably presuppose, in by far the majority of cases, a sufficient familiarity with that tongue on the part of his readers.

We welcome the appearance of this volume, and heartily commend the industry and care of Professor Smead in gathering for us these rich fruits from the fields of Teutonic learning.

Wesley and Methodism. By ISAAC TAYLOR. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 328.

WE had awaited the appearance of this volume with a high expectation that the author would prove himself as vigorous upon this theme as he did upon that of Loyola and Jesuitism. There is marked ability in the book. There are passages and incidental observations which could come only from a mind that had been intently exercised upon its own religious workings and upon the spiritual interests of society around it. But as a whole, the book appears to us to be a most remarkable combination of large and generous views with narrow judgments and weak prejudices. Sometimes the author exhibits a mental reserve, a holding back where we had reason to expect plain utterance, which would look like timidity, unless we were more inclined to ascribe it to some undecidedness in his own mind. Though we have readily to allow that there is a dignified and serious tone in most of his passing comments upon the various phenomena on which he gives judgment, we fear that there is also occasion to assert that he is not incapable of dogmatism.

We think that the author would have added largely to the value of his book, and would have abated somewhat of the oracular or judicial character, which is one of its most prominent and least pleasing features, if he had given to it a more popular cast. He should have introduced more illustrative details, personal narratives, and historical incidents, in order to connect his subject with its own times and men. He certainly should have given us at least a biographical sketch of the Wesleys and of Whitefield. His book is simply a critique of Methodism, and his judgment of it is pronounced after but a partial analysis of its elements and workings. He assigns to Methodism an honorable place in that succession of temporary developments and operations by which the multiform and inexhaustible influences of the Gospel are made to meet the demands of each age and state of society. He thinks that Methodism exhibited its peculiar elements of power under its originators; that their successors for the last sixty years did not inherit its full spirit, and that "it has ceased to have any extant representatives among us."

Mr. Taylor, having left the ranks of Dissent for the fold of the English Church Establishment, may or may not have found a blessing in the change. But his own experience may be taken

as corroborating his testimony to a truth of which there have been many striking illustrations. That truth is, that some of the most attached and honored, and in every way effective members of the English Church, have entered it from the ranks of Dissent, and that some of the most devout, judicious, and esteemed of the Dissenters have come to it from the bosom and the nurture of the Establishment. Thus are set before us, in many pleasing and striking examples, the good elements and influences of both religious systems. Were it not that Mr. Taylor is speaking of the past, we might account to his candor the admission that, "under its ecclesiastical system, [that of the Establishment a century ago,] the people of England had lapsed into heathenism,—or a state scarcely to be distinguished from it."

While Loyola and Luther, destined for such different agencies in this world, were born in the same year, John Wesley and Voltaire were contemporaries, and in their influence they present a remarkable balancing of good and evil.

Methodism does not exhibit to us as an embodiment of its efficient power any exalted intellect, any prominent leader combining high gifts and shining qualities. No one man planned its measures, or embodied its energies. It represents a revival among the middle and lower classes of England at a time of dreadful apathy and lifelessness in the dispensation of religious influences. It proved itself good rather for making converts than for training them in a daily household piety. It is seldom that such constitutional fervor as Methodism requires in its disciples is found to belong to all the members of a family; and where it is strong in some of those members, and deficient in others, it is very difficult for one common religious sympathy to establish itself.

The parents of the Wesleys, on both sides, were reclaimed from Dissent. The sons always professed allegiance to the Establishment, and though their acts and measures were in open defiance of its principles, they felt that their intention, which yielded only to what they regarded as the compulsion of circumstances, secured them from the guilt of schism.

Mr. Taylor lays out his strength in an analysis of the Substance and the Form of Methodism. By this method he accounts for the power with which it seized upon large classes of the people of Great Britain and of our own Colonies. He exhibits much acuteness of mind and considerable comprehensiveness, not to say catholicism, of spirit in this analysis. His estimate of both the Wesleys and of Whitefield, and of their chief coöperators, is generous and discriminating. His idea of the whole Institute is, that it was a divinely appointed development of the Gospel, temporary in its purport, although fraught with momen-

tous ulterior consequences. He attempts, in conclusion, to predict a "Methodism of the Future," but his utterances under this portion of his theme are not worthy either of his wisdom, his charity, or his remarkable faculty of expressing good thoughts. There is a striking vagueness in his assertions, as well as a most unfair description of the state of thought now agitating Christendom, and where we look for beams of light he gives us clouds and mists.

Mr. Taylor renders a beautifully expressed and a well-deserved tribute to Charles Wesley for his sacred poems, and one of the finest passages in the volume is that in which the power of Christian hymns is described (pp. 92, 95). We cannot regard our author as speaking justly or kindly in his severe remarks upon Southey's mode of dealing with the life and labors of Wesley. Mr. Taylor represents Southey (p. 82) as "treating the perplexing case of Methodism as a something which is at once admirable and contemptible, genuine and spurious, substantial and unreal, and which is 'from heaven,' and 'of men.'" What else has Mr. Taylor done in the volume before us? Again (p. 87), he accuses Southey of "flippancy," and implies that he adapted his views to the tastes and prejudices of an unworthy class around him. We regard Southey's Life of Wesley as one of our best religious biographies: it is fair in its judgments, serious in its spirit, and interesting and edifying in its selections of incidental matters. We are amazed to meet with such a statement as the following from one so well informed as Mr. Taylor: "Calvinism is quarrelled with, by serious persons, not because it is not Scriptural and philosophical (!!), but because it has been conveyed in a medium that has been rendered insufferable by the bad uses to which it has been applied." Calvinism is, indeed, an insufferable medium of Scripture and of every thing else.

Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli. Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 351, 352.

THERE is a large circle of readers in our immediate neighborhood whose tender remembrances of a remarkably endowed woman, or whose own affinities with one whom they never knew, will draw them to this work with a fond interest. Its lively and varied narrative will secure all readers of every class against any thing like weariness in its perusal. All that a book can receive of attractiveness from being a biography of a real and a peculiar character as drawn by itself in personal memoirs and letters, and as illustrated and made distinct by the help of true, admiring friendship, this book certainly has in perfection.

To have been an object of such attachment to those who have so affectionately united their tribute in these pages is no inconsiderable token of the merits of their common subject. The Rev. W. H. Channing and R. W. Emerson are the more prominent tributaries, but many other friends have been enlisted in the work. There is a freedom of self-disclosure in the letters of the lady, as well as a frankness of communication on the part of the editors, which give raciness to more than half of these pages. The book is indeed filled with revelations of the heart, and calls out the sympathies on which the enjoyment of its perusal depends.

The book certainly invites and tempts criticism, — a criticism, too, which would not stop with the printed page, but would enter largely into the character, the training, the genius, the peculiarities, the opinions, and the influence of her who is the subject of it. Yet who could find it in his heart to apply any severe processes to such an ungenial task. One would need first to exalt some personal traits of a striking and eminently sincere character above their place as idiosyncrasies, into offensive eccentricities, and then to warn those who are in no danger of adopting them against the risk of imitation. It is not to be denied that some few years ago, when Miss Fuller was an object of interest as a prominent member of that dreaded circle of *illuminati* who were called Transcendentalists, some grave and cautious parents hereabouts were afraid that their daughters would suffer from her influence. She was called an impracticable person, an odd person, a dreamy, visionary person. And so perhaps she was. The question was occasionally asked concerning her, — as it is concerning others with similar or different peculiarities, — "What should we do if all were like her?" The obvious answer, calculated to remove all fear on that score, is, that we are not all in any risk of being like her. Such characters are rare, and such gifts as hers are even more rare, in men or in women.

Our readers will find these volumes eminently suggestive. They may see reason to dissent from many of the opinions and views intimated in them, and their minds will be exercised by a running commentary of wonder, pleasure, and curiosity. But all will agree that their subject was no commonplace character. From her childhood to her death, the materials on which she lived were such as but few can gather into the nutriment of their being. Her tragical end, with her husband and infant, in the bosom of the stormy wave, was a termination not wholly discordant with some of the moods and incidents of her life.

The Miscellaneous Writings of Joseph Story, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, and Dane Professor of Law at Harvard University. Edited by his Son, WILLIAM W. STORY. Boston: Little & Brown. 1852. 8vo. pp. 828.

THE "Life and Letters" of Justice Story have been received by a very large circle of readers with a well-deserved regard. We suppose that their editor will soon be moved, if only to forestall some unauthorized hand, to prepare an abbreviated or condensed work for the use of those whose love of instruction is curiously balanced by a dread of large works which offer it in complete forms. We have all learned from those two volumes to regard the honored subject of them as a miracle of industry, and therefore the stout volume now before us is no unfitting monument to him, filled as it is, not with fragmentary compositions, but with miscellaneous contributions to the highest departments of literature and jurisprudence. The volume contains the Author's Autobiography, and some thirty-five articles of a very various character as regards their subjects.

Most of the contents appeared in a collection made and published by Judge Story in 1835, after they had been in print in an ephemeral form. There are but few readers who will not find matter of interest to them in the larger part of these miscellaneous pieces. Even in the legal papers, the affluent mind of the author contrived to introduce the richest intellectual dainties. His commemorative addresses on the Puritans, on Chief Justice Marshall, on Professor Ashmun, and on Harvard College, and his Address at the Consecration of Mount Auburn Cemetery, might be gathered into a volume by themselves with a sure circulation in our reading age. The more we contemplate the character and life and labors of this distinguished man, the more highly do we honor his worth, and venerate his virtues.

The Life and Works of Robert Burns. Edited by ROBERT CHAMBERS. In Four Volumes. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. Vol. I. 12mo. pp. 350.

THIS biography of the great peasant poet is constructed after a true model for such a work. The poet's verses are interwoven with an editorial text, which records the incidents of his life. The most thorough inquiries have been pursued to throw light upon and authenticate every incident in his experience, and to correct the numerous errors which have found their way into previous biographies. Though Burns has been the subject of so

much criticism, and though so severe a judgment has wellnigh established itself against the *morale* of his character and life, it may nevertheless be asserted, that a final and fair decision is yet to be passed upon him. We are persuaded that the prevailing opinion concerning him will not, however, be largely modified. We receive the first of Mr. Chambers's volumes with real gratitude to him for his devoted and well-rewarded labors.

An Elementary English Grammar, for the Use of Schools. By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S. Revised Edition. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1852. 16mo. pp. 236.

We are indebted for this volume to Professor Childs, of Harvard College. The labors which Dr. Latham has given to the most thorough study of our language, and to the preparation of text-books relating to its history and structure, have been gratefully acknowledged on every side. Professor Childs has incorporated into the English edition of the work before us some additions, corrections, and illustrations from other works of the same author. Independently of the more appropriate use which the book is designed to serve in giving rules for reading, writing, and speaking our own language correctly, the volume has the interest of an antiquarian, historical, and philosophical essay upon our mother tongue. We may safely assure our readers, that most of them will find in the book things of which they are now ignorant, a portion of which, at least, they will be pleased to know.

The Memory of Washington; with Biographical Sketches of his Mother and Wife. Relations of Lafayette to Washington; with Incidents and Anecdotes in the Lives of the two Patriots. Boston: Munroe & Co. 1852. 16mo. pp. 320.

We take this little book into our hands on the day preceding the anniversary of the birth of the most Christian general and the noblest patriot that ever lived on this earth. We have likewise just finished the perusal of the exalted eulogium which Lord Mahon pronounces upon Washington in the last of his recently published volumes of the History of England from the Peace of Utrecht. We care not in how many forms or ways the name and deeds of "this most virtuous man," (as Lord Mahon calls him,) are presented to the admiration of all classes of readers. We have yet in store the promised biography by Washington Irving, who owes it to his name as well as to his fame to produce a most worthy memorial. Doubtless, too, Mr. Bancroft, in his

forthcoming History of the Revolution, will spend the whole force of his genius on the central figure of his canvas.

The little book before us is well suited for young readers. It will do good service, if its well-chosen anecdotes and its fragmentary narratives win them to the more elaborate pages which already are, or soon will be, within their reach.

A Municipal History of the Town and City of Boston, during two Centuries. From September 17, 1630, *to September* 17, 1830. By JOSIAH QUINCY. Boston: Little & Brown. 1852. 8vo. pp. 444.

THE author dates the publication of this volume at the completion of his eightieth year. Its pages record his services at an earlier period of his life, but there is something most appropriate and opportune in the time and way in which they are now presented to us. Only by a rare union of modesty and skill could a public man compose a history in which he himself was so prominent and efficient a leader, and yet prove to us on every page, as in the volume before us, that he was writing a veritable history, and not a chapter of autobiography. The work was actually undertaken more than twenty years ago. The honored author, having, in 1829, declined to serve any longer as Mayor of Boston, was elected President of Harvard College. The high duties of his new station necessarily required a postponement of his intended work. After sixteen years of distinguished academic service, he has employed his retirement in completing a cherished purpose. It is a becoming memorial of his various public services.

Mr. Quincy devotes three preliminary chapters to a sketch of the municipal affairs of Boston, under a town government. There were important interests then to be served. The beginnings of our educational, eleemosynary, and police institutions are traced with care, and the measures relating to them are concisely sketched. The evils attending that form of government, — under which the people assembled in popular meetings, and many matters of vital importance to a large and growing community were passionately discussed, rather than deliberated upon, — had led many prominent citizens to desire a change. The substitution of a representative administration under a city charter was at length effected. Mr. Quincy gives us its history during three mayoralties, extending over eight years, nearly six of which belonged to himself, the Hon. John Phillips being his only predecessor, for but one year, and the Hon. Harrison Gray Otis being his successor. The period of Mr. Quincy's

administration was that critical period in all new enterprises in which the machinery is new, and the mode of its working, with its capacities and its risks, has to be learned by experiment. Precedents were to be established, conflicting interests to be harmonized, novel and often unpopular measures to be instituted, while hostile, soured, or prejudiced discontents looked on unkindly, or put obstacles in the way.

With an honorable courage and perseverance, with a spirit ofdetermined resolution and of single-hearted integrity, the remembrance of which is fresh in the minds of our middle-aged citizens, Mayor Quincy formed and carried out his plans. These were formidable ones for the times. In every stage they were more or less strenuously opposed, nor were obloquy and sinister influences left untried. But in every instance these plans have succeeded beyond even the expectations of their designer, and he has now the praise of having laid foundations on which the prosperity of our city is built up so peacefully and so full of promise for the future. As the venerable author recalls some scenes of agitation, and some manifestations of a mob spirit directed against him personally, he must find comfort rather than bitterness in the retrospect.

Among the contents of the volume will be found Mr. Quincy's Address at the close of the second century from the first settlement of Boston, and the beautiful Ode on the same occasion by Charles Sprague.

Fresh Flowers for Children. By a Mother. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1852. 18mo. pp. 176.

This little work is a collection of simple tales of real adventures and occurrences, well calculated to interest and benefit those for whom it is intended. The pieces are all lively, truthful, and perfectly pure.

The Sovereigns of the Bible. By Eliza B. Steele. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1852. 12mo. pp. 402.

The stories of the kings of Israel are here told with simplicity and eloquence. The characters of the kings are so well drawn, their lives so clearly portrayed, and the connections of events so forcibly brought out, as to add much to the intelligent interest with which most persons would peruse the same annals in the Scriptures. The work is very creditable to its author.

Select Poetry for Children and Youth. With an Introduction by TYRON EDWARDS. First American, from the Twelfth English Edition. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1852. 18mo. pp. 285.

THE large number of editions this work has passed through in England, and the fact of its being edited by Dr. Edwards in our own country, are strong commendations of it. It needs, however, no such commendations. The selection is excellent. We heartily wish that a great deal more of such poetry were familiar to every youth. We have only to add, that the work is published in a neat and beautiful style.

The History of Palestine from the Patriarchal Age to the Present Time; with Introductory Chapters on the Geography and Natural History of the Country, and on the Customs and Institutions of the Hebrews. By JOHN KITTO, D. D. With upwards of Two Hundred Illustrations. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo.

DR. KITTO has been for many years a most diligent investigator of Biblical antiquities. His numerous works upon the subject would be a marvel, if they were not, in a great measure, filled with the same materials. The author, however, on each new treatment of the same themes, avails himself of all the additional sources of information which of late have been richly gathered. His books are valuable. The one before us will be of great use to Sunday-school classes, as, without any parade of learning, it conveys instruction illustrative of the Scriptures.

"The Laws of Human Progress and Modern Reforms." This is the title of a lecture delivered before the Mercantile Library Association of the city of New York, by Rev. Dr. Dewey. (New York: Francis & Co. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 8vo. pp. 35.) The independent and out-spoken manliness of the author will prove his sincerity, and to some extent commend his opinions, as expressed in this pamphlet. He sets himself to define the *Laws of Human Progress*, which he finds to be derivable from the nature of man; from his condition in the material world; and from his social, including his political relations. Dr. Dewey propounds six great laws to incite and guide human progress, showing that it implies moral freedom and individual responsibility; that it must be experimental and gradual; and that it is subject to conditions imposed upon it by material nature and the general state of society. These principles are then applied to

our great enterprises of reform. The author takes the position of a moderate man with a leaning to conservatism, united with a hearty desire for such improvements as will lead on the great hope of the world. His position is a difficult one, and the defence of it, either in theory or in practice, is not easy at the present time. But of what other *position* can we not say the same?

"The Memory of John Robinson," is a beautiful tribute to that Puritan worthy, by Rev. Dr. Lamson, in a discourse delivered in his church at Dedham, on Sunday, December 21, 1851. (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 8vo. pp. 40.) The text is Ezra viii. 21, from which Robinson preached on the occasion of the departure of that portion of his flock which commenced the settlement at Plymouth. After being at some pains to state the evidence of the now unquestioned fact that December 21, not December 22, is the true "Forefathers' Day," Dr. Lamson gathers carefully from the most authentic sources the particulars for a just and edifying commendation of one of the saintliest of the Puritan stock. The impression left by the discourse must have been serious and elevating.

"Sermon preached at the Ordination of Mr. Horatio Stebbins in Fitchburg, November 5, 1851, by Andrew P. Peabody, with the Charge, Right Hand of Fellowship, and Address to the People." (Fitchburg: E. & J. Garfield. 8vo. pp. 47.) The sermon is a clear and forcible statement of the Christian doctrine of the forgiveness of sin on repentance, of its nature, and of its consequences in the present life and in the life to come. We agree with Mr. Peabody, that, instead of so much preaching of the Law, we now need more preaching of the Gospel.

Those who were present at the opening of the Unitarian Convention at Portsmouth last autumn, will remember the touching simplicity and tenderness with which they were welcomed in the remarks made in behalf of the Society by Deacon John W. Foster. That good man has now gone to his reward. We have before us two sermons preached by his pastor, Rev. A. P. Peabody, on January 18, the Sunday succeeding his interment. (Portsmouth: J. F. Shores, Jr. 8vo. pp. 21.) While paying a most affectionate tribute to the Christian graces and devoted life of this eminently honored man, his pastor uses the occasion, with its moral, as a means of enforcing, not by obscure suggestions, but by direct appeals, such duties as he would desire should be faithfully fulfilled by his parishioners.

"Twenty-Five Years of a Congregation," is the title given to a discourse preached in the Church of the Messiah, New York, by the pastor, Rev. Samuel Osgood, December 7, 1851, on the completion of a quarter of a century from the founding of the

congregation. (New York: J. A. Gray. 16mo. pp. 33.) As materials for a permanent record or for present thought the contents of this little pamphlet have a value. There is a wisdom which doth not require length of days to teach it, and we trust that the vigorous youth of this society will bear it on prosperously and wisely to the centuries yet to come.

"Jesus: a Christmas Sermon, preached in the Unitarian Church, Montreal, on Christmas Day, 1851, by John Cordner." (Montreal: J. C. Becket. 8vo. pp. 14.) This sermon develops the significance of the title *Jesus*, and then shows the need on the part of man for that salvation from sin which the Messiah proclaimed, and the terms and process through which it is effected by the Gospel. Like all the discourses of the author which we have read, this also is distinguished by a simple energy and a lively and practical character. We should regard him as eminently fitted to announce and defend our views where they are unknown or misrepresented.

Professor Park has produced a third pamphlet on his side of the controversy raised against him in the Princeton Review, on account of his Convention Sermon. We hope soon to treat of this controversy in an article, which shall at least acquaint our readers with the points at issue.

"Letters on Irish Emigration, by Edward E. Hale." (Boston: Phillips, Sampson, & Co. 8vo. pp. 64.) These letters, as first published in the Boston Daily Advertiser, have attracted much attention, and have been highly valued for the information which they communicate on a subject which is of anxious interest in our community.

"A Discourse delivered at West Dedham, February 4, 1852, at the Funeral of the Rev. John White, Pastor of the Congregational Church and Society in that Place. By Alvan Lamson, D. D." (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 8vo. pp. 23.) We give, on a succeeding page, an obituary notice of Mr. White. The discourse delivered at his interment, by his nearest professional neighbor and friend, is a simple expression of warm affection and of respectful regard, followed by a brief sketch of Mr. White's qualities as a man, a Christian, a preacher, and a pastor. The memorial will be highly valued for its justice and its sincerity, by those with whom, or with whose parents, Mr. White performed a faithful ministry of nearly thirty-eight years.

"A Sketch of the Life and Services of General Otho Holland Williams, read before the Maryland Historical Society, March 6, 1851. By Osmond Tiffany." (Baltimore: J. Murphy & Co. 8vo. pp. 31.) This memorial of a citizen-soldier — a class of

men whose integrity and whose abilities were sorely tried in our Revolutionary War — is a good specimen of the abundant materials from which ponderous histories are yet to be made. Those were a peculiar sort of men, who, without a military training, or looking forward to such a profession for life, under the impulse of true patriotism were called to fit themselves for the duties of the field, and after but little experience to practise the highest military tactics. General Williams was a man of many public and private virtues. He deserved this tribute to his patriotism.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

We have seen the first three volumes of the edition of the Works of Daniel Webster, from the press of Messrs. Little & Brown. The fact that Mr. Edward Everett has undertaken the editorial labor in this publication carries with it the assurance of Mr. Webster's sanction, so far as that is needed, to authenticate any of the illustrative apparatus of the volumes. The mechanical execution of the work is of the most finished character; the publishers, being aware of the safety of their enterprise, have expended upon it all the skill of their art. The edition is not intended to include all of Mr. Webster's writings, but is to embrace a selection of the most important and the best of them, the responsibility of deciding in the case having been left by Mr. Webster to the friends having charge of the publication.

The first volume opens with a Biographical Memoir of the Public Life of the Author, which covers about one hundred and fifty pages. With the exception of a few incidents relating to the childhood and youth of Mr. Webster, this Memoir confines itself strictly to a relation of his legal and political course. The whole private life and history, the domestic experiences and character of the distinguished statesman, are thus left to a later pen.

The remainder of the first volume, and the whole of the second, are filled with the speeches and addresses delivered by Mr. Webster on a great variety of public occasions, beginning with that at Plymouth in 1820. Three succeeding volumes contain most of his speeches in the Massachusetts Convention, and in the two Houses of Congress. The sixth volume embraces his legal arguments, diplomatic papers, and important political letters.

The several contents are introduced by such brief notices as are necessary to connect each address with its own occasion or subject. The volumes are destined to a wide circulation, at home and abroad. Through extracts in smaller volumes, to be read by those who are neither of a literary nor a political class, and by pupils in schools, their contents will enter into our classical and popular literature. Their admirable style, their weight of wisdom, their elevating ideas, their great thoughts, uttered in the most transparent language, will be no slight portion of that inheritance of the generations to come whom Mr. Webster so beautifully addresses at the close of his discourse at Plymouth.

Continuation of Mr. Bancroft's History. — Since the publication of his three volumes on the Colonial History of the United States, Mr. Bancroft has enjoyed the most felicitous opportunities for the extension of his researches. His residence abroad as our Minister at the Court of St. James, and his explorations among the archives at Versailles, enable him to pursue his preliminary historical labors under the most favoring circumstances. He knew what to search for, and where to look for it. It would indeed be preposterous for any one to undertake to write the history of any age of our country, or of any one of the States of our Union, and more especially of the Revolutionary War, without free access to, and the most diligent use of, the English and French archives. We expect the fruits of such investigations in the further publications of Mr. Bancroft. We have seen sheets of the first volume of his History of the Revolution, which will be published in a few days. We are waiting with a keen interest for its rich and elaborate pages.

*** After an interval of twelve years, which have elapsed since Dr. Palfrey published the first two volumes of his "Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures and Antiquities," we have before us two more volumes, completing the work. We defer the expression of any opinion upon its general character, or upon the views which it adopts concerning the Old Testament Scriptures, until we have time and space to discuss some, at least, of the many serious questions which it opens anew. Meanwhile, those of our readers who may wish to have a brief and comprehensive summary of the leading principles on which Dr. Palfrey proceeds in his system of interpretation, will find it in the Preface to the third volume. With sentiments of profound personal respect for the author, and with a very high estimate of his scholarship and candor, as well as of his thorough knowledge of the difficulties involved in his theme, we do not ourselves accord with all the general principles which he advances. Still less should we be ready to admit the application of those principles in particular cases. The work is published by Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co.

The Messrs. Harper have reprinted Dr. Layard's Popular Account of Discoveries at Nineveh. This is an abridgment by the author of his larger work, which has already been reviewed in our pages. In its present form this account of the successful explorations made in one of the most famous cities of the East will be far more attractive to general readers. The Scriptural illustrations are preserved, and much instructive matter will be found in the volume, throwing light upon the Bible narrative. The appearance and decorations of the book are in admirable keeping with its contents.

The same firm have published "The Corner Stone," the second in the series of three works by Jacob Abbott. These books had a remarkable popularity when they first appeared. They are enlarged and improved, as now reissued, and are worthy of the beautiful illustrations which adorn their pages.

OBITUARY.

Died at West Dedham, February 1, Rev. John White, pastor of the Congregational Church and Society in that place, in the sixty-fifth year of his age. He was born at Concord, Mass., December 2, 1787. At the

rarely exceeded. He was attached to his people, and they greatly so to him. His services were highly valued in the chamber of sickness and the hour of trial; he was affectionate and sympathizing, and his prayers consolatory and apposite. In the pulpit and out of it he never lost sight of the dignity becoming his profession; but had no repulsive formality or stiffness, self-respect happily blending in him with amenity, true courtesy, and a sort of native refinement, that marked all his intercourse with his fellow-beings. His life was unspotted, unselfish, and full of the fruits of peace and love. He was essentially a self-sacrificing man, though he never spoke of his wants, nor took any pains to parade them before the public eye, for his modesty was not the least of the excellences which marked his character. He passed along the quiet way of duty universally loved and respected, and the many tears shed at his obsequies bore witness to a mourning that was true and sincere.

Mr. White was the fourth minister of the West Parish in Dedham, and had a longer ministry than any of his predecessors. Its first pastor, the Rev. Josiah Dwight, a native of Dedham, and graduate of Harvard, was installed in 1735, having before this time been in the ministry in Woodstock, Connecticut. He remained pastor of the West Parish eight years, when, dissatisfaction growing up, he was dismissed at his own request, and returned to Woodstock, where he passed the residue of his days. His successor was Rev. Andrew Tyler, who was ordained in 1743, and, difficulties arising, left in 1772, after a ministry of twenty-nine years, and removed to Boston, his native place, where he died three years after. Rev. Thomas Thacher, the third pastor, was ordained in 1780, and died in 1812, in the fifty-sixth year of his age and the thirty-third of his ministry.

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ERRATA IN MARCH NUMBER.

Page 308, line 16, for "impressiveness" read "impulsiveness."
" " " 35, " "wants" read "merits."

THE

CHRISTIAN EXAMINER

AND

RELIGIOUS MISCELLANY.

MAY, 1852.

Art I. — THE ANDOVER AND PRINCETON THEOLOGIES.*

Truly enough, "How great a matter a little fire kindleth!" Professor Park preached a most excellent sermon before the "Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts," — not of "New England," as his Reviewer says, — in which he graphically set forth a very simple and universal principle of interpretation; namely, that there are different forms in which the emotions and the intellect express themselves. No one, orthodox or heterodox, dreamed that the eloquent speaker was scattering heresy in his glowing sentences. It required the sensitive olfactories of Princeton to scent, under the per-

* 1. *The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings. A Discourse delivered before the Convention of the Congregational Ministers of Massachusetts, in Brattle Street Meetinghouse, May* 30, 1850. By Edwards A. Park, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. [Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. VII. pp. 533 - 569.]

2. *The Theology of the Intellect and that of the Feelings. A Discourse [delivered] before the Convention of Congregational Ministers of New England [Massachusetts?], in Brattle Street Meetinghouse, Boston, May* 30, 1850. By Edwards A. Park, Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. [Biblical Repertory, Vol. XXII. pp. 642 - 674.]

3. *Remarks on the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review*, Vol. XXII. No. IV. Art. VII. By Edwards A. Park, Abbot Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. [Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. VIII. pp. 135 - 180.]

4. *Remarks on the Princeton Review*, Vol. XXII. No. IV. Art. VII. By Edwards A. Park, Abbot Professor in Andover Theological Seminary.

fume of roses, the brimstone of heresy. The shining robes of the sermon were discovered, in that region, to be the stolen livery of heaven, and the golden hues which surrounded it were pronounced, by those who *said* they knew (we do not accuse them of particular acquaintance in that suspicious quarter), to be the glow of the under, and not that of the upper fires. The anonymous Reviewer in the Repertory, who is known to be Professor Hodge, entered the field in great trepidation as the conservator of orthodoxy, with the tone and temper of a pope. He forgot that Professor Park was outside of the presbytery, where men think, once in a year at least, for themselves, and where the assumption of superior airs and orthodoxy must be backed by argument and irrefragable proof. We have been not a little amused, a little instructed, and a good deal mortified, in reading this controversy. Both parties are knights of known repute. They differ, however, very widely in both person and equipments. The one sits gracefully on his charger, without helmet or shield, holding his keen cimeter in his hand as gracefully as a clerk would hold his pen. The other half settles himself between the portmanteau and pistols, lifting a thick broadsword, as a woodman would lift a maul, while bound behind him, to serve in an emergency, is a knotted war-club, which would make a Blackfoot brave chuckle. The one puts his keen blade through the heart of his opponent, and then triumphantly flourishes it in the sunbeams, without a tarnish on its brightness. The other brings down his thick broadsword or club, and, *if he hits*, bruises, crushes, tears his enemy, bespatters himself with blood and brains, and wipes his weapons of their man-

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Bibliotheca Sacra, January, 1851, Art IX. [Biblical Repertory, Vol. XXIII. No. II. Art. VI. pp. 306–347.]

5. *Unity amid Diversities of Belief, even on Imputed and Involuntary Sin; with Comments on a Second Article in the Princeton Review, relating to a Convention Sermon.* By EDWARDS A. PARK, Abbot Professor in the Andover Theological Seminary. [Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. VIII. pp. 594–647.]

6. *Unity and [amid?] Diversities of Belief, even on Imputed and Involuntary Sin; with Comments on a Second Article in the Princeton Review, relating to a Convention Sermon.* By EDWARDS A. PARK, Abbot Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1851, pp. 594–647. [Biblical Repertory, Vol. XXIII. No. IV. pp. 674–695.]

7. *New England Theology; with Comments on a Third Article in the Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, relating to a Convention Sermon.* By EDWARDS A. PARK, Abbot Professor in Andover Theological Seminary. [Bibliotheca Sacra, Vol. IX. pp. 170–220.]

gled flesh on his saddlebow. The one pitifully performs the funeral obsequies of his conquered foe, and buries him among his kindred. The other kicks the mutilated remains of his enemy into the nearest pit, and leaves the carcass to the fowls of the air and the beasts of the field.

We do not remember to have witnessed a more dogmatic and offensively assuming volunteer in a controversy than the Princeton Reviewer, nor one more decidedly and effectually silenced. He rushed upon Professor Park's inoffensive sermon with great crimination and assurance, totally misunderstanding it, and totally misrepresenting it. He tilted against a man of straw, and pitched himself upon the ground in the start. He entirely mistook the point in debate, and, like the valiant old Dutch governor of New Amsterdam, cut off in his zeal a cabbage-head, and not the head of the writer of the sermon. From first to last, from the trumpet-call to the onset to the bugle-blast for retreat, the rash assailant has been driven from every post by his courteous antagonist. From misrepresentation in the first instance to assertion in the last, he has been shown to be clearly in the wrong. No wonder that, with evident signs of mortification at the course which the controversy had taken, and his entire discomforture so far as he was pleased to pursue it, he at last retreats from the conflict which he had himself provoked, declaring that it was not to his "taste"! that it was "more than he had bargained for"! New England theology has always been a puzzle to Princeton, and it was a common remark from the theological chair, that it could not understand New England metaphysics. Very likely not, for they are not intelligible from the Princeton point of view. Standing in the more obscure nook of the "Confession of Faith," one should not malign the stars if their courses do seem mazy. A few steps out from the recess under the open sky would make all intelligible, and harmonious, and sublime. He who never looks at the heavens but through a comet-seeker will have a very feeble conception of their overspreading grandeur. New England, narrow and hard as some of its theology is, has been, and is, the mother of many great and liberal thinkers, who have had the fear of God, and not the fear of man, before their eyes. Even the sorriest and dryest of the theological systems which have found

existence among us have been the product of free minds. They have not been scored out at the command of synods and general assemblies. Men of God, filled with the Holy Ghost, among the Indians, in their secluded parishes, bent their Herculean powers to the great work of reconciling the ways of God to men with reason, justice, and benevolence; and in spite of censures, ecclesiastical and other, in spite of banishment and misrepresentation, they built their high arguments, which stand to this day monuments of their profound and life-long labors. They did not so much inquire after the fathers, as after Christ and truth. They did not consolidate themselves into a body, to crush every manifestation of free thought which threatened to question and destroy their systems. In the exercise of the rights of Christ's freemen, they had worked out their systems, and they never attempted to throttle others, who, in the exercise of the same inalienable right, had endeavored to overthrow them. Intellect met intellect, argument struggled with argument, not a man with a synod, an argument with power. This noble feature in New England theology, which symbol-ridden theologians find it difficult to understand, is its great glory. We honor this feature in Edwards, and West, and Hopkins, and Emmons. We do not accept their systems; we shrink back from many of their conclusions; but we honor that spirit of free, yet reverent, thought which pervades their works, as well as the works of Mayhew and Chauncy. In their example they left to us an invaluable legacy, an inheritance which we do not intend to disgrace. In this we mean to imitate them. There are thousands who intend to do the same. Edwards was a great man, but Paul was greater. Christ is the Head. New England divines do not hesitate to step out of the old track when they see a better way. Nor do they hesitate to lay aside the old terminology and the old methods, when new and better terms and modes are presented for their acceptance. David has never been pronounced unwise for not wearing Saul's armor. He did not refuse it because Saul was not a great warrior, but because he knew a better method for him. So we do not decline the heavy armor of our fathers because we undervalue their strength and wisdom, but because we think the smooth stone from the

brook is better for us. The play of words and adjustment of syllogisms have less value to us than plain good-sense and sober instinct. We are free to confess, that, much as we honor logic and the intellect, we would prefer a hymn-book and a heart, if we were going to do our best in eliminating the doctrines taught in the New Testament. We know that this is heresy in some quarters. But no matter for that. Our cherishing and expressing it is only an illustration of the fact which we are stating, that we have inherited from our fathers a frank and decided way of speaking, which is not understood in some quarters, where opinions are manufactured by vote, and received upon authority. That we Yankees are a puzzle to outsiders is unquestionably true, and easily accounted for. Take any man from the pent air of a dungeon, and bring him out under the broad sky, and into the sweet breath of heaven, and he will be equally puzzled. He has never felt his lungs full of air before. His turbid blood begins to course more freely, and his feet bear him in other directions, and at a different rate, than those permitted by his narrow cell.

God be praised for the bold and reverent thinkers of New England! Their mantles have fallen upon not unworthy sons. We are sure that the heritage which they left to us will not be basely surrendered at the demand of power, or foolishly thrown aside at the taunt of pride. We thank Professor Park for the good service which he has done in this controversy. He has taught bigoted impertinence a lesson that it will not soon forget. He has given petrified theology a jar which it will take the most subtle medicaments of its guardians to cure. We shall not be troubled with another foray into our domains just at present. We should think our Presbyterian friends had their hands full to take care of the signs of life which are given occasionally in their valley of dry bones. It sometimes, however, is good policy, when an old system is crumbling, to call attention to something remote, and thus prop up the tottering edifice for a little longer existence. Perhaps the Princeton Professor thought that the best way to infuse courage into his host was to give them a specimen of his powers in the land most entirely possessed by the enemy. If he has carried back any laurels, or won any confidence, then a wonderfully

heart are not to be interpreted as a logical treatise, nor to be taken into our creed as intellectual statements of truth.

Dr. Hodge discovers that an emotional interpretation of some passages of Scripture referred to by Professor Park will remove the corner-stones from his "Confession of Faith," and he rushes to the rescue, and maintains that these emotional passages are "the language of speculation, of the intellect, as distinguished from the feelings," that if any propositions were ever framed for the purpose of satisfying the demands of the intelligence, any pure didactic formulæ, these are they! He represents Professor Park as maintaining that there are two distinct systems of faith, one adapted to the heart and one adapted to the intellect, one or the other of which must, at times, be false; and on this entire misapprehension of the sermon, he goes on reasoning against what Professor Park never maintained, and dogmatizing about matters which were not in dispute. He questions at first whether feelings express themselves in images and personifications. The highest emotions are expressed in simple language, lower states of feeling seek figurative language. Still, granting that emotions do express themselves in startling images and hyperbolical phrases, they are just as intelligible as the calmer language and measured sentences and weighed words of the intellect. Dr. Hodge asserts nothing here which Professor Park had called in question or would dissent from. He would only insist that the true idea of the language of emotion could not be understood unless interpreted by the laws which govern the emotions, and not by those which govern the intellect. When we say, "God is a rock," there is no more difficulty in apprehending the meaning, than when we say, God is a protection; but we do not interpret the word "rock" from the intellectual point of view, as when we read that a rock was thrown one hundred feet by a tornado, but from the emotional point of view, as when we read that one's heart is a rock. Dr. Hodge then enters into a psychological argument, to show that, when the emotions express themselves in a false manner, the intellect rejects and repels the expression, and thus the theory of Professor Park is supposed to be felled at a blow. But Professor Park had maintained

no such theory as Dr. Hodge represents him as maintaining. He had maintained that *just* expressions of the emotions were not just expressions of the intellect. Yet the intellect could see that they were just for the emotions, not *lies*, as Dr. Hodge supposes. The intellect is not offended when its sister is dressed in flowing robes. But Dr. Hodge is evidently most fearful that some passages of Scripture will be taken as emotional, which it is necessary for the safety of his system to understand as didactic, purely intellectual; and hence he raises the cry, that the application of the theory is perfectly arbitrary, and therefore each one will explain away all the passages which are offensive to him on the ground that they are emotional, and so are not to be taken in their literal sense. Of course we believe men must exercise common sense in reading the Bible, as in reading all other books, as even Dr. Hodge himself does when he reads the words of Christ, "This is my body"; "Except ye eat of my flesh, and drink of my blood," ye cannot inherit the kingdom. These are rules which are to be applied to the interpretation of the emotional as well as of the intellectual portions of the Bible, and these rules Dr. Hodge knows well how to apply when it answers his purpose, as is well shown in the review of Professor Park's discourse. He concludes by showing that *his* theology cannot be reconciled with that of the author of the sermon, however it may answer for a solvent of all other apparent discordant theories; and expresses his profound regret that the "captivating talents and commanding influence" of Professor Park should have been arrayed against the doctrines which he repudiated in his discourse. His consolation is, that, however bright may be the weapon and however keen its edge, "it has so little substance that it must be shivered into atoms with the first blow which it strikes against those sturdy trees that have stood for ages in the garden of the Lord, and whose leaves have been for the healing of the nations."

To these charges Professor Park responds that he has not taught in his sermon two different systems of theology, but two different *modes* of expressing the *same* system; the one conformed to the laws of the intellect, the other to the laws of the emotions. But they differ not in language *alone*, but in images and illustrations, as

Reinhard's Dogmatics and Sermons differ; in the proportion which truths bear to each other, as Van Maestricht's scientific theology and Krummacher's glowing sermons differ; in arrangement; in the mode of commending the truth to the people, as Cudworth's and John Bunyan's writings differ; in phrases and terminology, as Ridgeley's Body of Divinity and a Psalm-book differ. In this respect, therefore, his Reviewer has misrepresented him; he "has misstated the very object of the discourse." He has omitted in his review, "against the canons of fair criticism, the entire paragraphs containing the formal definition" of the object of the sermon. Throughout the sermon, and not in the statement of the subject alone, "the distinction is between the intellectual statements of doctrine and the more impressive representations of it" by the emotions. "But notwithstanding all these various and wearisome repetitions of the same idea, the Reviewer represents that the sermon really advocates 'two conflicting theologies,' which are unlike in *substance* as well as in *style*, two antagonistic '*doctrines*' pertaining to the sinful nature, &c." He states that his Reviewer, whose "accomplished hand" has been said to be plainly visible in his article, is not accused by him of any "*dexterity*" in keeping out of sight these important explanations both of the statement of the object of the discourse and of the repeated reiterations of the same.

But the Reviewer is guilty of the sin of commission, as well as of that of omission. For he has not only omitted the author's interpretation of the object of his discourse, but has inserted phrases which misinterpret it. He speaks of "two theologies" repeatedly, without any qualification, as if the author of the sermon had not defined what he meant by the phrase, and in what sense he used it. Nor is the Reviewer's psychological argument any fairer in its statement than his representation of the object of the discourse. The charge of denying practically the "unity" of the soul, and of maintaining "dualism," is unfounded. The popular language of men admits of the use of terms and phrases, which, if interpreted scientifically or logically, would imply or prove dualism. But no one misapprehends them. The Bible speaks of the "old man" and the "new man." We

speak of a double-minded man, of a "divided affection." "The Reviewer *and* Dr. Hodge use just such language. He, the Reviewer, says the phrase 'God the mighty Maker died' has to be *defended* by the *intellect* at the bar of the *feelings*." Dr. Hodge says, in his commentary on Romans vii. 15–23, "There is a *conflict* between the natural authoritative *sense* of right and wrong, and the corrupt *inclinations*." Does the Reviewer believe in dualism? and yet he has said just what the sermon-writer said, almost *totidem verbis*. "*Every body knows*" what such language means, and it is never mistaken, except for theological purposes.

But the Reviewer has given "an erroneous view of the main theory of the discourse, with regard to the peculiar language of the emotions." He represents the sermon as not "discriminating between mere figurative language, and the language of emotion." Yet the sermon not only repeats the idea that the theology of feeling differs from that of intellect in other particulars than in its use of figures, but it also reiterates the idea that the emotions do not always use figurative language, that they may be sometimes *literally* interpreted. Yet Dr. Hodge, if he is correct in his assertion that the "*highest* language of emotion is generally simple," has made some peculiar quotations to confirm it. He has actually cited as unrhetorical the declaration of David, "Against thee, thee *only*, have I sinned," which John Milton, who has been supposed to know something of emotional language and figurative style, pronounces as highly figurative; "as if," says he, "David thought it were no wrong or sin done to Uriah to dishonor his wife."

More than this: the Reviewer misrepresents the sermon by asserting, contrary to statements made on every page of it, that its theory confounds two things which are as distinct as day and night; viz. a metaphor and a falsehood; a figurative expression and a doctrinal untruth. Because the one is allowable, he pleads for the other also. Yet it was distinctly stated that it was one of the objects of the sermon to justify the emotional, figurative theology, because, when explained *as* language of emotion, it *never opposes, but contains, the substantial truth*. And though this idea is repeated more times than there are pages in the sermon, the Reviewer, with-

out a blush, represents this very sermon as teaching that in devotional exercises, when the feelings are warmed into a glow, we may and do express *doctrines* which we do *not* believe! The language of emotion is under law, and can be as easily and accurately interpreted as the language of intellect; and it is never misunderstood, except by logical theologians. Rhetorical writers lay down rules for its use and interpretation. The charge, that the whole subject of criticism is thrown open to whims and fantasies, because some passages in language are to be interpreted as the laws of the emotions require, is groundless. The language which Milton puts into the mouth of Satan, "Myself am hell, and in the *lowest* depth a *lower* deep . . . . . opens wide," would be nonsense if understood literally, and yet it is true if understood as the language of emotion. "*Left to its own guidance*, the intellect would never suggest the *unqualified* remark, that Christ has fully paid the debt of sinners, for it declares that this debt may justly be claimed of them"; not that he suffered their *whole* punishment, for they may yet be punished; not that he has *entirely* satisfied the law, for its demands are yet in force. The Reviewer, on the contrary, avers, with remarkable decision, that "*all* the illustrations [and among them is the phrase "God the mighty Maker died"] which our author gives of modes of expression which the theology of the intellect would not adopt [suggest], are the products of that theology." They are the language of speculation, of theory, of the intellect, as distinguished from the feelings. Professor Park and his Reviewer here light upon the doctrinal differences which gave rise to the articles in the Repertory.

Professor Park stoutly denies that those forms of speech announce literal truths, and proceeds in the third place to show, that the Reviewer gives a wrong idea of the doctrinal illustrations in the discourse. The discourse maintains that it is proper for the emotions to speak of the "sinful," "blamable," "guilty" spirit before it has performed any voluntary act, for which latter *only* can the intellect speak of it as guilty. Yet Dr. Hodge, keeping the false impression of two hostile theologies before his readers, speaks of the sermon as affirming that the doctrine of a "*sinful* nature" is *true* to the feelings and *false* to the

intellect. Another statement of the sermon was, that it was accordant with the laws of emotional expression to say that "man is unable to repent," that "sin is necessary," while the intellect would say, "inability removes obligation," "necessity takes away the possibility of sinning." Because the writer of the sermon does not accept the *philosophy* of the Reviewer respecting original sin, the vicariousness of Christ's death, and other kindred doctrines, it did not justify him in "unblushingly publishing to the world, that the author of the sermon *denied* those doctrines, which he never doubted. The Reviewer's ethics are as much at fault as his logic. He appeals to the prejudices of the people, by classifying the writer with Rōhr and Morell, and describing his doctrines as 'subversive,' 'destructive,' 'inimical to the proper authority of the Bible.'" He is recommended to read Dr. Miller's eleventh letter on clerical manners! We have had the temerity to think that some other writers we wot of might be benefited by the book.

Professor Park's fourth allegation is, that the sermon is represented as unguarded in its tendencies. It is represented as "enabling a man to profess what he does not believe," which every reader of the sermon knows is in direct conflict with its whole tone. But it is urged further, that no "adequate criteria" are given in the sermon "to enable one to discriminate between the language of feeling and that of the intellect," leaving every one to be guided by "*caprice*." Certainly the Reviewer could not expect a single sermon to contain all the principles of Morus, Ernesti, and Gerard. These "criteria" are in the books, and the books in every one's hands. Yet no less than *six criteria* are mentioned in the sermon, and illustrated as far as time would permit. That errors in doctrine *may* arise from an imperfect application of these criteria is true, and so they may arise from the incorrect application of any rule. There is danger everywhere. "All study is dangerous; but the neglect of it is more so. Candor may be abused to our hurt; bigotry will be used to our sorer mischief. If we aim to be fair inquirers for truth, we may err; if we strive to be pugnacious defenders of a party, we shall lapse into sad mistakes. Who is sufficient, without God's help, for *preaching*, or even for thinking of the Gospel."

Such is Professor Park's rejoinder. It is hardly credible that such a tissue of mistakes, misapprehensions, misrepresentations, as he declares Dr. Hodge's article to be, could have been written by a theologian. Yet it is even so. We have read it, and are satisfied that Andover has done no injustice to Princeton.

Dr. Hodge opens his reply with some sarcastic allusions to Professor Park's sensitiveness at the exposure which Princeton had made of his very popular sermon, and declares that he intended to make his review "a sort of model of candor and courtesy." (!)

"Having failed so entirely to understand the sermon, we shall not be presumptuous enough to pretend to understand the reply." "We shall let it pass. We take a deep interest in the main point at issue, which is nothing more nor less than this: Is that system of doctrine embodied in the creeds of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches, in its substantial and distinctive features, true as to its *form* as well as to its substance? Are the propositions therein true as doctrines, or are they merely intense expressions? Are they to be understood as they mean, and do they mean what they say, or is allowance to be made for freedom of expression?"

This is important. [We remind our readers that we still speak for the combatants, and now, for Dr. Hodge.] From an early period in the Church there have been two great systems of doctrine in perpetual conflict. The one begins with God, the other with man. The one has for its object the vindication of the Divine supremacy and sovereignty in the salvation of men; the other has for its characteristic aim the assertion of the rights of human nature. Its three fundamental principles are, that "all sin consists in sinning"; that "the power to the contrary is essential to free agency"; that "ability limits responsibility." From these principles it follows that there is no such thing as "original righteousness" and "original sin." Every man stands on his own probation, not on Adam's probation; is not condemned till he sins, and can resist the influence of the Holy Spirit, which seeks to regenerate his heart. Such is one of the systems. The other is antagonistic to it. It represents man as born in sin, as receiving a new nature by regeneration, as having his probation in Adam, in whom we sinned and fell, and thus are born children of wrath, deriving from him a nature which is itself, not merely diseased, weakened, or

predisposed to evil, but is *itself*, as well "as all the motions thereof," "*truly and properly sin.*" It admits that, by this innate, hereditary, moral depravity, men are *disabled* and made opposite to all good. It regards the work of Christ as designed to satisfy justice and to fulfil the demands of the law by his perfect obedience to its precepts, and by *enduring its penalty* in the room and stead of sinners. His righteousness is so imputed to them as to become really theirs. It denies that the sinner is active in regeneration, or can do any thing to prepare himself for it, or coöperate in it. Conviction of sin is more than remorse for *actual* transgressions; it is a sense of depravity affecting its moral state which lies beyond the reach of the will. There are three leading characteristics of this system, which distinguish it from the other. The one is rational, and seeks to explain every thing, the other is confessedly mysterious. It does not attempt to make consistent with reason the doctrines it maintains. The one exalts man, the other exalts God and humbles man. The one makes man an end in God's works, the other represents God as himself the end of all his works, both in creation and in redemption. It is an undeniable fact that this latter system underlies the piety of the Church in all ages. It has withstood all changes. It still stands. It cannot be moved. Logic, invective, wit, have been heaped upon it. Still it stands. What is to be done? Professor Park says, let us admit that it is true, but maintain that it is true only as a theology of the feelings, which, when perfectly understood, is reconcilable with the other system, which is the theology of the intellect, and literally true.

Such are the two systems, and such is Professor Park's mode of reconciling them. The only point is this: Is there any correct theory of interpretation by which the two systems above referred to can be harmonized? Are they two theologies equally true, the one the theology of the intellect, the other the theology of the feelings? We take great interest in this question, as Professor Park's method is evidently the "last arrow in the quiver." Every thing else has failed. Three things, then, we will do. We will show that the matter is fairly stated, that the method of Professor Park is unequal to the task assigned, and will then examine the nature of the method by which the work was attempted.

First, Have we correctly stated the theory? Professor Park expresses the hope that his theory will enable "*many* various forms to be blended into consistent knowledge, like the colors in a single ray." By understanding those passages of Scripture which are expressive of deep emotion as the laws of emotion require, and not applying to their interpretation those rules which are applicable only to the expression of the intellect, he hopes to remove *much* which is contradictory in the creeds of men. All *allowable* creeds can be reconciled. Now that he has entirely failed to reconcile the two systems above stated, need not be proved to intelligent minds. It is evident that they contain contradictory propositions, and were intended to contain them. The imputation of Adam's sin to his posterity is a different thing from what is expressed by saying, that his sin was merely the occasion of certain evils coming upon the race. That the corrupt nature which we derive from Adam is really sinful, is a different doctrine from that expressed by saying that our nature is prone to sin, but not sinful. Power to do all that is required of man, is not the same as the doctrine that he is *totally unable* to do any thing that is required of him. Christ's opening a way for pardon, and making full satisfaction, are different *doctrines*, not different *forms* of the same doctrine. It is unnecessary to name any more doctrines to prove our second point, that Professor Park has not succeeded, and never can succeed, in reconciling these systems.

What, then, in the third place, is Professor Park's theory, which is to harmonize all creeds. It is stated in two forms. The one is, that right feeling may express itself in diverse, conflicting, and therefore, in some cases, wrong intellectual forms. The other is, that figurative language is not to be interpreted literally. By playing between these two different forms of his theory, the one of which is false, and the other of which is nugatory, he succeeds in bewildering and deluding his readers. The theory, that right feeling may express itself in diverse, and even in wrong, intellectual forms, is false. No right feelings can be wrongly expressed to the intellect. [Professor Park did not say they could be. He said, that forms which the intellect would approve as coming from the feelings, the intellect would not approve as coming from itself.]

This theory has root in such systems as Morell's Philosophy of Religion. It upturns all the foundations of true faith. Professor Park probably does not intend to go so far, but thereunto his system does go. The other form in which his theory is stated, that figurative language is to be interpreted figuratively, is a mere truism. The only question to be raised is, What is figurative, and what is not? The principle that right feeling may express itself in wrong intellectual forms, is especially dangerous, and, incorrect as it is, gives dignity and importance to the sermon. It is a grave matter. It contradicts what Scripture teaches on the origin and nature of religion, and conflicts with many of the most clearly taught and universally received doctrines of the Bible, and it destroys the authority of the Scriptures themselves. Whether Professor Park will admit it or not, whether he believes it or not, his theory takes root in the infidel philosophy, that all religion consists in feeling. And this philosophy is the abominable thing which the Lord hateth.

To all this development of two systems which Dr. Hodge has made, and shown to be irreconcilable on Professor Park's theory, the Professor has replied, that *no such systems* as his Reviewer has described have ever been believed by any theologians, and therefore do not come under the category of "*many* conflicting creeds *received* by good men," which the theory proposed to reconcile. Here Professor Park might have paused, but his opponent had opened too tempting a field for him to refuse to enter it. He had tasted the sweets of victory in one case, and he could not forego the pleasure of once more driving his opponent from his newly chosen field of operations. He therefore goes on to show that Dr. Hodge agrees with him in believing that "the mass of true Christians, in all denominations, get their religion directly from the Bible, and are but little affected by the peculiarities of their creeds," and this is comforting. Another comfort is, that *many* varieties of form, and different philosophies, may be connected with a doctrine which is held in its essence by most Christians. The author of the sermon said "many," his Reviewer makes him say "all." A third comfort is, that good men often contend about modes of presenting truth, when they agree in the truth

presented. The same doctrine is presented in different forms. And the form which it takes when the feelings express it would be unbecoming in sober prose, and sometimes is such that we should hardly dare to repeat it. The Princeton Reviewer, for example, makes the following remark: "Paul says that Christ, though he knew no sin, was made sin; i. e. a sinner." If Paul *had* said that Christ was made a sinner, we would reverently repeat the words, even as we say with awe, "Then the Lord awaked out of sleep, and like a mighty man that shouteth by reason of wine." Fourthly, it is a pleasant reflection, that good men often reject their erroneous creeds in their pious meditations. The Convention Sermon and the Reviewer agree here, also; for the latter says: "This is a doctrine which can be held only as a *theory*. It is in conflict with the most intimate moral convictions of men." "There is one form of doctrine for speculation, and another simpler for the closet." This looks very much like a theology of the intellect and of the feelings. Fifthly, it is cheering to know that, when divines act as *men*, instead of theorists, they often relinquish their erroneous notions and agree with the advocates of right doctrine. In their theories they are "confident, pugnacious, but in their practical moods they think like other folks." Old Andrew Fuller says, "*Natural strength* is the *measure* of men's *obligation* to love God"; and our Reviewer has, on another occasion, in spite of his theory, declared that "Man cannot be under obligation to do what requires powers which do not belong to his nature and constitution." "Volitions are free in their very nature. A *necessary* volition is an *absurdity*, a thing *inconceivable*." This certainly is much like the Convention Sermon, which advocates "ability" as necessary to obligation. But, sixthly, men sometimes come over from error to truth in their speculative moods. It is often said by Dr. Crisp, that it would not be just, nor even "honest," for the Deity to exact of us a payment of a debt which Christ has already paid for us. And even our Reviewer has abated his assertion, that the *unqualified* declaration that Christ has fully paid the debt of sinners, and yet that it may be rightfully demanded of them, is true and his own belief, to this very harmless declaration, in his last article: Christ has paid the debt of sinners *in such a*

sense that it would be unjust to exact payment from *those who believe*. *Sinners* is changed for *believers*. A very important change, and as encouraging as important! Truly, as Dr. Hodge said some time ago, and hence will be slow to consider the saying as savoring of Schleiermacherism, "There *is* a region a little lower than the *head*, and a little *deeper* than the reach of *speculation*, in which those who *think* they differ, or differ in *thinking*, may yet rejoice in Christian fellowship." And seventhly, we find that, for various reasons, obvious and occult, theologians are inconsistent with themselves. In one sentence the Reviewer maintains that his system differs from what he is pleased to call ours, because it has for its object the "vindication of the Divine sovereignty in man's salvation," and, lo! he soon affirms, that, in the system to which the sermon belongs, "the acceptance of the sinner is the act of a sovereign dispensing with the demands of the law"! Again, the Princeton Review asserts, "If the doctrine of imputation be given up, the whole doctrine of original sin and redemption must be abandoned, and what will be left of Christianity will not be worth a serious struggle." And yet the same Review says that Edwards and Hopkins and Dwight did "reject it." And, notwithstanding this rejection, they are said to be "in the main" correct! Our Reviewer accuses us of Pelagianism and all manner of heresies, because we declared that "Christ opened the door of salvation." Andrew Fuller said the same, and said that such a declaration was sufficient. And of Fuller the Review says, "We have made up our minds never to contend with any man for agreeing in doctrinal points with Andrew Fuller"! So much is fixed! The Review will never contend with any man for advocating the "*radical principles of Pelagianism*"! "Blessed is the man who first invented — contradictions."

Thus far Dr. Hodge is shown by Professor Park to have forgotten himself, and to have conceded in other writings the very things which he now opposes as flagrant heresies. Professor Park's reply now takes another course. As the doctrines of imputed and involuntary sin are more difficult to reconcile, as held by New England and the old Calvinists, he proposes to show how they may be disposed of. The true doctrine of imputation is

that "our benevolent Creator formed a constitution, according to which Adam was to be the head of our race, and the state of his posterity was so far suspended upon the conduct of their representative, that they were to be born like him in nature and condition." What his reasons were, we know not fully. What now is the old theory? First, that God doomed the race to follow the state of Adam, as a judge, on principles of justice, not as a sovereign, for reasons which we do not fully understand. Rivetus quotes numerous authors to prove this. The first principle being admitted, that Jehovah is influenced by punitive justice, when he afflicts them before their own individual sin it follows that they *deserve* to be thus punished before action. Rivetus cites authorities to show that men *deserve* punishment. And if they deserved to be punished, then some offence must have been *justly* imputed to them before their own personal existence. Rivetus quotes authorities to show that we are all "guilty," — that the fault and *guilt* of Adam were imputed to men. This third step being admitted, that a moral offence has been justly imputed to men before their personal existence, it follows that they must have sinned before they existed personally. And the old writers did not shrink from the consequences. They maintained, almost universally, from Augustine downwards, that, the human race *existing in* Adam potentially, or as a future tree existed in the first acorn, so "all sinned *in* him and fell *with* him." This is the old theory of imputation; man *did* sin in Adam, and so is punished for *his own* sin, not for Adam's sin. Let him who can receive it, receive it! How can this theory be reconciled with the true one? In no way, if we regard this old theory as expressed in *literal* terms. No one ever supposed it could be. But these writers give up the doctrine at times, and rest on sovereignty, not on justice. Calvin says, "We are all included in Adam's person by the *will* of God." And even the Reviewer says, that "by a benevolent *appointment* of God we were included" in the company of those who suffer the evils of Adam's sin. An *appointment* is sovereignty, not justice. Then, again, they sometimes explain away the doctrine. Even Dr. Hodge himself explains it away. He says, that the standard Calvinistic divines never believed the doctrine;

that the sin of Adam is never said to be in us *truly* sin; that the guilt attributed to us is not *moral* guilt; that the phrases, "we sinned in Adam," "were sinners in him," "were ill-deserving," "have demerit," express nothing with regard to "*moral* turpitude." He says that the doctrine of our oneness with Adam is all a *figure of speech!* But he said this some years ago, and seems to have forgotten it now he has found something, as he thinks, very much like it in a Convention Sermon! We do not intend to say that Dr. Hodge is always in agreement with us, or with himself. He gives at least five meanings to the word *imputation*, sliding all the way from high Calvinism down to the Biblical Calvinism of New England! Dr. Emmons's view of imputation was said, in the Princeton Review, to contain the *very thing* which the old Calvinists, Augustine himself, called the imputation of Adam's sin. Now the doctrine of Emmons and that of the sermon are the same. But our doctrine is Pelagianism; and hence Pelagianism is "*nothing short*," according to Princeton authority and logic, of Augustinianism!! The learned Reviewer is in a trilemma. Either he believes that the old Calvinists said what they meant in literal terms; in which case he has contradicted himself; — or, secondly, he believes that logically they said literally what they meant, yet practically merged their language into bold figures; in which case he agrees with the proscribed sermon, and this will never do; — or, thirdly, he believes that both as logicians and practical men they used the language of their creeds as intensely figurative; in which case he is much more latitudinarian than the sermon. It is not safe for a man "behind the walls of Gibraltar or of Ehrenbreitstein," as the Reviewer says he is, to be too profuse in epithets of Neology, Rationalism, Röhrism, and, most of all, Pelagianism.

But we must attend to the other point suggested, — involuntary sin. The true doctrine is, that sin consists in choice or preference contrary to the requirements of conscience. The other and the erroneous doctrine is, as stated by the Reviewer, that our nature *itself*, as well as all the motions thereof, is *truly* and *properly sin*. Now can these views be reconciled? How do theologians who hold the last view *generally* explain it? Not how do *all* explain it, but most of them. They often admit

that the doctrine of our punishment by passive sin for Adam's transgression is not *literally* correct, for one sin is never the punishment of another. Even the Reviewer has formerly said that he does not teach that sin is the *punishment of sin*, while he maintains at other times that original sin is a *penal* evil. Then, again, they affirm that God is not the author of sin, while they believe that our passive nature is *sin*, thus showing that they use the term figuratively, or, as Turretin says, "for the purpose of expressing the truth more forcibly"; i. e. the doctrine belongs to the theology of feeling! They further show that they do not literally believe our passive nature to be "itself" properly sin, for they deny that we can feel remorse or penitence for it. Certainly there is no *sin* that needeth not to be repented of! Fourthly, our Reviewer himself, who contends, not only that our nature "itself" is *sin*, and *all* the motions thereof, still maintains that "*every* one performs a multitude of acts *because they are right.*" Therefore, as all are not regenerate, there are millions "*all* whose motions are *sin*" performing "*right*" *acts!* Fifthly, many who contend for the doctrine of involuntary sin virtually confess that they use the term *sin* in a metaphorical sense. As speaking of the cause as the effect; or as denoting the result of a wrong preference; or as signifying all the concomitants of transgression, or sin proper. And yet again, sixthly, these men virtually confess that they use the word "sin" *figuratively.* And, finally, they affirm that by sin they do not mean a *moral* quality. Augustine says, "Though called sin, it is not so called because it is *itself* sin, but because it is produced by sin, just as writing is called the *hand* of some, because the hand produced it." And so it has been from the first to this day. Many of the most able writers have so defined their use of the word as to show that they did *not* hold nature "itself," as our Reviewer does, or says he does, to be "*truly and properly sin.*" We ask the favor of our Reviewer, to give us a definition of the conscience which condemns this passive nature, to point out the inspired passage in which this inborn nature is prohibited by law, to repeat the words in which it will be condemned at the last day. The "three radical principles" are unassailable, and are often virtually held under a phraseology which, if literally under-

stood, would contradict them. It is the phraseology of the "theology of feeling." To show this the "humble sermon" was prepared, which our Reviewer first calls a "*weapon* striking a blow upon *sturdy* trees," then "the *last* arrow in the quiver," and, lastly, a "*penny whistle*"! Whatever it was, it certainly was not intended to call forth any such "*sort* of a model of candor and charity" as our opponent says he intended his Review should be.

Such is Professor Park's second rejoinder. He shows most conclusively, by quoting from their works, that many, if not most, of the ablest writers have so *explained* the words of the creeds to which Dr. Hodge refers, as to show that they are not to be taken literally, but tropically. Hence the Reviewer finds that he is not behind Ehrenbreitstein, but behind a figure of speech! That he should be somewhat disconcerted was natural; that he should betray some "emotive theology" is not wonderful, considering the total depravity of the unrenewed heart, and the remnants of evil which remain with the regenerate. He therefore proposes to retire from his Gibraltar, because Professor Park does not understand the question,— he does not *adhere* to the true question,— his articles are characterized by evasions and playing with words, like juggler's balls! The discussion has become personal! [We admit it is rather personal to have it proved that we have flatly contradicted ourselves, but that is our own fault, not our opponent's, and is no reason why we should withdraw from the contest unless we are conquered.] Professor Park has even dared to quote, from some of our articles written years ago, passages confirmatory of his views, and he has quoted some which we did not write! He represents us as assailing New England, and appeals to popular prejudice! Now we say, that, if there is any characteristic of New England theology more prominent than any other, it is opposition to Professor Park's principles. Bellamy, Edwards, Dwight, all oppose him. Then there is no frank and manly discussion in his articles! He evidently expects to elude pursuit by a copious effusion of ink! He has not "read up," and nothing better could be expected! He is not at home on this subject. "*He does not understand language.*" (*!!*) His instructions to us are much like a Frenchman teaching an Englishman how to pronounce

English. "With the best intentions, the amiable Gaul would be sure to make sad work with the dental aspirations." Such is the half apologetic, half contemptuous article, whose burden is, Reasons for putting an end to this discussion. Certainly it was not worthy of the hero of Gibraltar to make an attack upon one whom, at the close of the contest, he politely calls a fool! It was hardly worth his while to sail along our coast, with "a stout ship under him," to attack a "long, low, black schooner," which was making a "smoke in the offing," if, as he declares, when he makes an apology for hastening back again, after receiving a shot between wind and water for his pains, it was nothing but a flat-boat taking sculpins, whose crew knew nothing of gunnery! The public, who read both sides of the controversy, will decide whether it was for want of more shot in his locker, or contempt for the craft, that he put back for Delaware Bay and River in such a miff.

But Professor Park cannot restrain the impulse to give his pompously retiring foe a shot in the back, and he devotes one more article to the taunt about New England theology and New England divines, with which the gallant Reviewer *graced* his departure. Professor Park says, that Napoleon on his majestic march to Moscow, and on a hand-sled retreating, represents well Dr. Hodge's foray into our Northern country. We said, in a plain way, that the *same truths* may be expressed in diversified forms, all reconcilable with each other; our assailant charged us with saying that *different* truths, expressed in different forms, were reconcilable with each other. We said that he had misrepresented us in that charge, and had brought a wrong issue before the public; he replied, by presenting two creeds, one of which he called ours, and the other our opponent's, and then went on to show that our theory would not reconcile them. We replied, that neither of the creeds which he had made up was believed by any body; that even the Princeton Reviewer did not believe what he appeared to profess to believe; that the language of the old creeds was often explained metaphorically. They were not *true*, and therefore, by the terms of our sermon, we were not bound to reconcile them. Upon this our opponent retires, because the controversy is not to his "taste," — it has become "personal," — it is

of great importance that such questions should not be open for agitation within the Church! Professor Park then turns to consider New England theology since the time of Edwards, and says, that a decided majority of all the great divines "stood firm for the 'three radical principles,' that sin consists in choice, that our natural power equals, and that it also limits, duty." The "elect minds" of New England made advances in theology. They were independent thinkers. Dr. Hodge utterly misrepresents them. It is utterly inconsistent with the language which they used, with the nature of their disputes, and with the declaration of their immediate successors, to interpret the phrase "natural ability," as used by the school of Edwards, as meaning nothing more than the natural capacities of soul and body, and not as including an *adequate power* to use those capacities as they should be used. This point Professor Park sustains by an overwhelmingly convincing array of quotations, which we have no room to introduce.

Again, New England theology is Calvinism in an improved form. It does not pretend to be a perfect system. Both Edwards and Hopkins expressed the hope that their successors would carry it to perfection. *Our* readers remember that Hopkins thus expressed himself to Dr. Channing. They distinguished between "certainty" and "necessity" in human action. Still, they sometimes contradicted themselves, and one another, in their views of the Divine agency in producing sin, Hopkins boldly saying that God is the author of our wickedness. But this was a logical rather than an actual belief. They saved the old theology from utter annihilation, by maintaining that all sin to which guilt is attached is actual. "Sinning is acting," was their creed.

The New England divines were men of strong, practical common-sense. "That melancholy phrase, 'He hath no children,' could not be applied to our divines, as to many who have speculated in favor of infant damnation." Hopkins studied twelve hours a day for more than half a century. For seventy years Emmons was a fixture in the parsonage; and Dr. West was a fixture in his study so long as to wear away the wood-work over which he sat, with his feet. There was never a more independent class of thinkers. No council could awe them

down. They wrote their theology for men, women, and children. It came out in sermons. Their views of the nature of moral evil were just what Dr. Hodge declares them "*not to be.*" They believed "all sin consisted in sinning; that there can be no moral character but in moral acts." Their general mode of reasoning shows this, and especially their reasoning "on the doctrine of our Paradisiacal offence." So, also, in their reasoning on moral agency, and the nature of virtue. And in their sharp discriminations between sin and the occasions of sin, it is most clearly seen that they held on to the great and sure guidance of common sense and consciousness, that *sin is acting*. All attempts to show that our New England writers did not believe it, only go to confirm it. Even Edwards, who at times declares our nature to be sin or sinful, says that we *acted in* Adam, and thus saves himself by that absurd theory from flatly contradicting consciousness. This theory, which is contained in his work on "Original Sin," which he hurriedly prepared for the press, does not appear to have been a settled opinion. It may have been a temporary means of escaping an otherwise apparently insuperable difficulty.

Again, the New England theology is a comprehensive system of Biblical science. The founders of it were Biblical students. No synod frowned upon them. No theological "Gibraltar" pointed its bristling cannon at *them*. And if it had, they were not the men to fear them, and their system in its great features will prevail. It is God's truth, and it will triumph. When theologians use language literally, and translate their metaphorical terms into common sense, plain expressions, they will come upon New England ground, as Dr. Hodge does, in spite of himself.

It is a glorious vindication of these giants which Professor Park makes. We thank him for it. We admire to see great and good men held in honor. Dr. Hodge has heard rattling after him the hail of indignation for his sneer at New England theology. We shall not see him again in this region. We are confident he is satisfied. He is a man of "taste," and we are sure he does not think it "tasteful" to be shot in the back, when he has sounded a retreat. From every position which he assumed he has been driven, and the sepulchres which he

had attempted to defile have been garnished. A more complete and triumphant victory has not recently been won on the field of controversy. Let us learn a practical lesson from it. Creeds, as bonds of union, are useless. The terms in which they are written are as ambiguous as the terms of Scripture; and those who accept the same creed differ as much, oftentimes more, than those who accept apparently opposite creeds. The terminology of theology is the apple of discord. It is the *name*, not the *thing*, which turns Christ's sheepfold into a wolf-pen. We close with the wise remark of Professor Park, which, if regarded, will save the Church from much evil. "Not seldom are the leaders of sects in a real variance, when the people, who fill up the sects, know not why they are cut off from their brethren; and the people may strive in words, while they agree in the thing; and their judgments may differ in the thing, while their hearts are as one." R. P. S.

Art. II. — MURRAY'S AND LATHAM'S ENGLISH GRAMMARS.*

The English language is now spoken by more millions of men than any other language of the world. Passing beyond the bounds of the country from which it derives its name, it is heard throughout all North America, in the West Indies, in the East Indies, in Africa, in the numerous islands of the Pacific; in all those countries, in short, where the human race is destined to increase most rapidly for many centuries to come. And it is for ever to be the language of freemen, to be used for the expression of bold thoughts, sublime conceptions, and high and energetic resolves.

Every man, therefore, who has chosen literature for his

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* 1. *English Grammar, adapted to the different Classes of Learners. With an Appendix, containing Rules and Observations for assisting the more advanced Students to write with Perspicuity and Accuracy.* By Lindley Murray. New York: Collins & Co. 1818.

2. *An Elementary English Grammar, for the Use of Schools.* By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S., late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Revised Edition. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1852. 16mo. pp. 236.

vocation, whether he has resolved to devote himself to the instruction of youth from the professor's chair, of his congregation from the pulpit, or of the people through the press, is bound to take care that the language he uses shall become better and better adapted to its high purposes, and shall constantly advance, as every thing else is advancing, towards perfection. Language is certainly worthy of all the labor and care that can be bestowed upon it. It is an instrument not only of the physical powers, but of the mind; it is the medium by which the will of God is most clearly made known to man; it embalms beautiful and holy thoughts, and transmits from age to age the deeds of the great and the memory of the virtuous.

Higher praise than has ever yet been awarded is therefore due to those who labor to render more efficient this chief instrument of human improvement, — to the etymologist, the grammarian, and the lexicographer. It is no useless achievement to ascertain the parentage and write the history of a word, from its birth on the plains of Shinar or the mountains of Caucasus to the present time, or to designate the rank it holds among its brethren, and the office it fills when used with them to convey instruction or impart delight; and still higher merit belongs to him who well performs the difficult task of indicating the exact idea which it was invented, or is now used, to express, so that the truths of science and the processes of reasoning may be made easily and clearly intelligible to the understanding.

Obscure tradition, supported by etymological discoveries, has given rise to the belief that, before the beginning of what has been called the historical era, a stream of population, starting from the interior of Asia, passed thence westward into Europe; the southern portion of this stream founding the republics or communities of Greece and Rome, and the more northern spreading itself over the northwestern parts of the continent, and forming nations and tribes from which have sprung Denmark, Sweden, and the kingdoms and principalities on the Danube, the Elbe, and the Rhine.

Long after the time when the southern stream had reached the end of its journey, on the shores of the Mediterranean, and begun its glorious career, the northern

was hunting, and fishing, and fighting on the shores of the Baltic, and in the forests of Germany. Each had passed through various and different climates, had pursued different and changing occupations, and been exposed to different influences; of course both invented new and different words, or received old ones from the numerous nations or tribes with which they had intercourse in their journeyings, to express their new and peculiar ideas. And as not only their ideas, but their trains of thought, were different, they fell into the habit of arranging in a different order words of the various classes, and of using different prefixes and suffixes, or different words, to express the added ideas of number, time, &c. So that, in the course of many centuries, the languages spoken by both, and their respective dialects, became so different, that no trace of relationship could be perceived, without close observation and scrutiny.

From different parts of this yet barbarous and uncultivated territory came many wild and warlike bands, who conquered England and made it their abiding-place. They brought with them various dialects of the Teutonic language, the Saxon predominating. In the course of many centuries, this dialect became more and more regular and copious; but rather less than eight hundred years ago, the country was again conquered by William of Normandy, who portioned it out among his followers, and they introduced new words and new modes of speech; and thus, from many and dissimilar elements, was formed and fashioned the English language.

This brief history is given to introduce and justify the remark, that perhaps no other language exists which has received the words of which it is composed from so many sources as ours; and the further remark, that therefore it could take from none its grammatical rules. It has been obliged to form, and has formed, a grammar for itself, resembling no other, and, in our opinion, surpassing all others.

It is of some importance to know what English grammar is, and what it is not. Within the last half-century much has been written on the subject. Hardly a year has passed, without sending a new laborer into the field. Most of these, who have published grammars to be used as text-books, have followed Murray as their guide, ad-

hering at least to his division of the words into classes; to his treatment of the pronouns; to his method of conjugating the verb; to his names of the modes and tenses; and to his rules of syntax. That all are equal to Murray's is not to be supposed; that the best are better is not doubtful; nor is it doubtful that the worst are but little inferior. If he is correct in all his notions, the abridgments and copies, "thick as the leaves of Vallombrosa," have done no injury to the language.

But we think that Murray is sometimes mistaken, and fear that his errors have tended to retard the improvement of the language, if not to corrupt it. And as most of the grammars used in our schools, so far as our knowledge extends, are similar to his, we shall, having his work before us, proceed to point out what we assume to be errors; our motive in doing this being merely to present them to the consideration of those whose studies have made them competent to decide the questions submitted to them.

1. In these grammars all words are divided into nine classes. The class usually placed first in order are called Articles; and in this class are included only two words, *a* and *the*. We think these words have no claim to be arranged in a class by themselves. They belong to the same class as *one*, *this*, *tenth*, *many*, &c., and these words are adjectives, belonging to that subdivision of the class called by some definitives, or defining adjectives. These errors, in a manual, may not lead to errors in speech or composition; but they violate the rules of systematic classification, must fail to afford that discipline to the mind which the study of all sciences ought to do, and if the pupil possesses even ordinary sagacity, and calls it into exercise, must perplex him and create disgust at the science he is studying.

2. The common definition of the Pronoun is, that it is a word used *for* a noun, or *instead of* a noun;-and the examples usually first given are the five personal pronouns and their plurals. Thus far, grammarians are right; but when they class among pronouns the words *this*, *that*, *my*, *any*, *each*, &c., they take from another class what belongs to it. For, or instead of, what noun is *this* used, in the phrase, "*This* picture is beautiful"? And is that word *ever* used except as the attendant or adjective of a noun expressed or understood?

3. An Adjective is described as a word *added* to a noun to express its *quality*. This definition is defective. The two words called articles, and many called pronouns, are always, when used, added to nouns expressed or understood, but do not express the *quality* of any object, unless the meaning of that word is extended beyond its ordinary import; they merely define, limit, or point it out. And there are many other words of a like character, — among them, *first*, *distant*, *recent*, *north*, — which are treated, and properly, as adjectives, by all grammarians and lexicographers.

4. But more important and injurious than these are the errors committed in treating of the Verb. They arise apparently from the notion that there is such a thing as universal grammar; that if other languages, especially those pronounced most perfect, are governed by certain rules, and have certain modes and tenses, the English must be subject to the same rules, and have the same modes and tenses.

Murray says that the English verb has five modes, and he includes one which he names the Subjunctive among them. In this, in our opinion, there is error.

A mode with this name, (though sometimes called the conjunctive mode,) is found in most languages, and is used to denote doubt and contingency, or the dependence of one idea on another; and it is distinguished from other modes by the peculiar spelling of the verb in all the tenses. A mode designed or used for these purposes seems to be necessary, or at least appropriate, in all languages that use inflection to express shades of meaning, or added circumstances, such as number, tense, person, &c. The English makes little use of inflection for those purposes, but uses separate words. It uses prepositions to express relations; it uses and repeats pronouns to denote the persons of verbs, and in most cases auxiliaries to denote modes and tenses. Indeed, it has not a tense in any mode, excluding the interpolated subjunctive, that has not a peculiar and appropriate auxiliary. For use in this mode, the founders of our language did not invent any auxiliary, nor designate any principal verb, expressing doubt or contingency, to perform duty as such; nor is the spelling of the verb changed in any person or tense.

How, then, it may be asked, could it have ever been supposed that such a mode belonged to the language?

The mistake may have been occasioned by the practice of omitting auxiliaries, — more common in the early period of the language than afterwards. In such expressions as *if thou love*, there is an ellipsis of *shouldst*, and when that is supplied, the proper place of the verb, in this form, appears to be in a different mode. And it may have been occasioned in part by the fact, that the verb *to be* has two forms in its present and past tenses. But certainly neither of these forms was invented to be used in a subjunctive mode. Both forms always were, and still are, used in the indicative. For a positive assertion, disregarding custom not very ancient, I *be* is quite as proper as I *am;* and *were* is always used in the indicative plural. The custom is now evidently giving way, — *if it is* and *if it was* being often used by erudite scholars, and oftener by a numerous class less learned, but more apt to follow the genius of the language.

In translations from the Latin subjunctive into English, auxiliaries are used, not the supposed English subjunctive: Feci hoc ut *intelligas;* I have done this that you *may see;* — *ut intelligeres;* that *you might or should see.*

5. The names of several tenses do not convey a correct idea of their uses. The old past tense (*wrote*), always denoting an action *finished* in a period of time *ended*, is called the *imperfect* tense; another past tense (*have written*), describing an action *finished* in a period of time still *present*, is called the *perfect* tense; and another past tense (*had written*), describing an action *finished before* a designated *past* time, is called the *pluperfect* tense. In the English language might certainly be found more appropriate names for these tenses. *Perfect*, not conveying to the English ear any idea of time, is not a well-chosen word for the name of any English tense. *Past*, *present-past*, and *prior-past* are suggested as more appropriate.

6. The auxiliaries *could*, *might*, *should*, and *would* are pronounced by grammarians and etymologists to be the *past* of *can*, *may*, *shall*, and *will*, and are arranged in the imperfect (past) tense of the potential mode. Far be it from us to express a doubt of the decisions of etymologists; but abundant proof may be adduced that those

auxiliaries are *now* used to denote *future* much oftener than *past* time. All English literature is full of it. We could present it to our readers, in pages of extracts from eminent and careful authors, and would do so did we not fear we should weary them. It is every day in their way, and if they should look for it they would assuredly find it. Those auxiliaries belong to a tense analogous to the Conditional tense of the Italian, French, Spanish, and German languages.

A Grammar first published in England, and just republished here, has already attracted a considerable share of the public attention. The author, Mr. Latham, announced in the title-page as "Fellow of the Royal Society, and late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge," has acquired, in his own country and in this, a high reputation for the extent of his philological researches; the results of which he has given to the world in a large work, entitled "History and Etymology of the English Language." He has doubtless made a valuable addition to the stock of knowledge, in regard to the origin, history, and mutations of our language, heretofore derived from the researches of Lye, Hicks, Tooke, Bosworth, Webster, &c. But how valuable, and to what extent this knowledge may be relied on as a safe guide to the lexicographer and grammarian, may admit of doubt. It must be in most, and may be in all cases, imperfect knowledge. When only a part is known, the light from that part may mislead. What is not ascertained is often supplied by conjecture, and conjecture is, of course, uncertain. Undoubted etymology must be of the highest value to the lexicographer; it would enable him to guard his definitions from error, and to restrict the recognized significations of a word to the fewest number possible, — discountenancing those which wander farthest from the original or principal meaning, and thus securing, as far as might be, precision, which is the chief excellence of a language. Adding new meanings to an old word, in order to give utterance to new ideas, is more to be guarded against than the formation or introduction of new words. To the grammarian, the few facts discovered by the etymologist can be of but little use. To know that a certain word, five hundred years ago, was used only as a noun, affords no argument that it may not be now used

as a verb or an adjective. It may gratify the curiosity — no more — to know that Anglo-Saxon nouns had a dative case distinguished by inflection; that the infinitive of verbs was denoted in the same way; that the verb had a subjunctive or an optative mode; that it had only two tenses; and that the plural of nouns was denoted by the termination *en*. We very well know that the construction and rules of a language are constantly, though very slowly, changing; and it hardly admits of doubt that the change is always for the better. What those rules once were, it is therefore not important to know. What they have become, and now are, is the proper inquiry of the grammarian; as it is of the citizen, what are the laws of his country that he is bound to obey.

Mr. Latham, apparently following the Anglo-Saxon as his guide, allows but two tenses to the English verb; gives it a conjunctive mode; divides English verbs into two classes or conjugations, the strong and the weak, the strong consisting of such verbs as form the past tense from the present, by changing the vowel in the latter, — *smite, smote*, — and the weak of such as add *t* or *d*, — *deal, dealt*, — *flee, fled;* and, having ascertained that *me* and *my* were once the same word, insists that *my* is now a pronoun. This requires us to go backward several hundred years, and to reject, as mischievous innovations, some at least of the changes which have, since then, taken place in our language. We fear that the author has lately passed so much of his time among his progenitors that he has lost all relish for the speech of his contemporaries.

But Mr. Latham has made two discoveries, — they are new to us, — for which we confess our indebtedness to him; — that the word *do*, as used in such phrases as "That will do," has descended from another parent than the word *do* signifying to perform, or act; and that the word *one* — sometimes hesitatingly classed with pronouns, as used in the phrase "*one* dislikes to be hurried" — comes from the French word *on*, and is in fact a pronoun.

The author, in this work, has less to say on the subject of syntax than is found in other similar works; but he treats at some length the subject of the "Syntax of the Verb *have* with the Past Participle."

"This occurs," he says, "in phrases like *I have spoken, I have slept, I have moved, I have written;* where *have* is in the present tense, and where *spoken, slept, moved, written*, are past passive participles. The phrases, *I had spoken, I had moved*, &c., are in the same predicament, except that there *had* is in the past tense. *I had been moved, I shall have struck*, are modifications of the same construction, the phrase being somewhat more complex. Now, in all the phrases quoted above, the word *have* (or *had*) has the same power. It indicates past time. It indicates past time, even although it be itself in the present tense (*I have written*). As the natural meaning of the word *have* denotes *possession*, it may naturally be asked how it comes to mean *past time*. The difficulty that here arises becomes more visible if we substitute for the word *have* some word of similar meaning, such as *hold, possess*, or *own*. To say, *I own written a letter, I possess written a letter, I hold written a letter*, sounds like nonsense; at any rate, it gives no such meaning as is given by the words, *I have written a letter*. A little consideration, however, will show how the power of expressing past time may arise out of the idea of *possession*. In the first place ——"

But we stop here, not having room to insert the three pages which follow. They are devoted to showing how, probably, the words, "I have written a letter," came to be so closely associated in their present order, and used, in familiar speech, to express the idea they now convey. It is impossible to ascertain how many years, it may be centuries, elapsed before the Saxons overcame their repugnance to this combination, or coalition, of two words of contradictory import, — one expressing present and the other past time, — and the habit became finally established. And it would be a cause of extreme regret if all this trouble, and the trouble, moreover, of compelling several other principal verbs to perform the duty of auxiliaries in helping to form new tenses, should be rendered of no account, by the return of the present generation to the old custom of using two tenses only.

We think Mr. Latham mistaken, when he says that, in the combination "have written," "*have* indicates past time." As in all other cases, it expresses present time, and, being associated with the past participle, *written*, it forms a compound tense expressing a compound idea, — describing an act *done* in a period of time still *present; I have written a letter to-day*. It cannot be supposed that this tense was formed by consultation among the

learned. They could not at once have overcome their repugnance to such an outrage upon the proprieties of language. It must have been the work of the people; and it affords a happy illustration of the mode in which languages are formed and moulded for the convenient use of all classes of men.

And the people are now attempting another innovation, unwilling to use the phrase, "The house is in the process of construction," they are experimenting with the combination "is being built"; and who can say that the grammarian of a hundred years hence will not be compelled to admit it in his paradigm? When it shall have become as familiar to the eye and the ear as *shall have been built* now is, the heterogeneousness of its component parts will cease to be obvious, and it will be welcomed into good society as a valuable improvement of the language.

Upon the whole, we recommend this new Grammar to the perusal of those who delight in philological studies. They will find it quite as interesting and instructive as other works of a similar kind. We see no reason why they should not give full credit to the facts it reports; of the soundness of its doctrines, they constitute a portion of the tribunal to judge. S. H.

Art. III. — CONDITIONS OF SOCIAL PROGRESS.*

The word Progress, with its derivatives and compounds, has filled a large space in recent literature. Perhaps the use of a new phrase signifies the advent of a new thing. At any rate, we cannot but rejoice that the present, while to so many an era of despondency, is to so many more an era of hope. On the whole, the matter seems to be treated more gravely now than a few years ago; and its intellectual and practical conditions are more anxiously studied; so that the "cause of progress" (as we must term it for want of another name) is

* *The Theory of Human Progression, and the Natural Probability of a Reign of Justice.* Boston: B. B. Mussey & Co. 1851. 12mo. pp. 588.

represented not so much by declaimers and fanatics as it threatened once to be, but by thinking and earnest men.

"The Theory of Human Progression" is a handsome volume, with nothing on its face to indicate its authorship or source. From internal evidence, we judge that it is the republication of an English work, written from the point of view of a radical in politics, and an earnest dissenter in creed. It is a rough cast, made from the imperfect fusion of two rather incongruous elements. If you skip the "theory," you have a lively and somewhat declamatory pamphlet on a thousand miscellaneous matters pertaining to political justice and social welfare, with fragmentary arrays of statistics and citations; if you eliminate this, you have an abstract hirsute and difficult scheme, imperfectly digested, and of harsh terminology, exhibiting the scientific series and the logical conditions, to which social progress is to correspond. The consecutive scheme or column of sciences corresponds in the main with that of Comte, which we have before illustrated at length;* adding a base of ontology and logic, and a capital of theology. The most conspicuous difference is, that the *science of the social evolution* is not so clearly comprehended, or handled in that masterly manner which we illustrated in treating of the "Positive Philosophy." Still, there is at times almost as distinct an exhibition of the underlying necessity to be detected in the changes of human society.† Setting out from the position that the conditions of society depend on men's "credences" (p. 122), the writer attempts to show the natural sequence of them, through the several departments of knowledge and practice, as well as their ultimate consummation in that condition which he calls in his title a "reign of justice." The germinal doctrine of his political creed is that of "progression from

* Christian Examiner for March, 1851.

† See, for example, what the author says of the need of centralization (p. 52); of the several periods of warfare (p. 440 *et seq.*); of the French Revolution (p. 159); and of what we may perhaps call a serial millennium, i. e. the successive "millennial" condition of the several sciences, from the elementary mathematical up to the highest theological. The statement on p. 204 is an admirable example of condensed expression of this thought, worthy of any writer who has treated the subject.

diversity of privileges towards an equality of rights" (p. 160; also, pp. 426, 459).

The author's theology, so far as he indicates it, involves the two points, first, of the natural depravity (or fallen condition) of man, and secondly, of the infallibility of the Scriptures. As to the first, he is evidently in some perplexity to reconcile the corruptness of the factor with the wholesomeness of the product (p. 126); and with respect to the other, he seriously hurts the scientific character of his book, by the vague and undiscriminating statement of what he professes to make the most vital and essential point in his theory (pp. 96, 276, 496). On the whole, we are inclined to regard the chief merit of the work as lying in its details; and this is often very considerable. There is a frequent felicitous terseness of expression, overlaid indeed by much rhetoric of the opposite quality, yet giving a refreshing pungency to the treatment of the matter in hand. Take the following examples. "The child asks not *what*, but *why*" (p. 80), — a statement in germ of Comte's famous law. "No historical argument is capable of determining a present question of equity." (p. 411.) "Natural theology, at present, is little more than constructive pantheism." (p. 491.) "Every political state is a communist association." (p. 252.) "The most infamously immoral production is less likely to be scrutinized [in a despotic state] than a treatise on political economy; and an association for murdering, torturing, and expatriating the population (an Inquisition, for instance), would be more readily authorized than an association for forwarding the rights of the people." (p. 63.) "Let us write a plus or a minus, a sign positive or a sign negative, before *all* our knowledge, and what difference can it possibly make?" (p. 102.) The following, too, we consider an eminently happy example in its way: —

"And so it is with a sheep, a bullock, or a fowl. Naturally, he grows wild, rough, hardy, and takes far too much exercise to fatten. He is developed in those parts that man esteems the least, — that do not *pay*. He is unmanageable, has his own way, runs, jumps, tears, flies, and does many things that no doubt amuse himself, but that do not recommend him as an investment. The improved animal, on the contrary, is quiet, solemn, fattens well, appears to understand the end of his existence,

and to take to it kindly; bears beef and fat, or mutton and wool, to the very best of his power, and seems pleased with his prosperity. He even learns to look down on his less cultivated companions, and seems thoroughly imbued with a quiet sense of his own superiority. He does as he is bid, and in all respects is a man-server. He does his work, and receives his wages." — p. 300.

The multitude of topics, on almost all of which some good thing is said, and in regard to some of which a stern and almost vindictive anticipation is expressed,* make it quite impossible for us to follow the course of our author's thought. His chief merit, as we have said, is in detail. His chief want appears to be what Mr. Mill discusses under the title of *axiomata media*;† we miss a graduated transition from his abstract principles to their practical application. The treatise and the pamphlet are forced into unwilling combination. The abruptness, and lack in harmony of parts, seriously impair the value of the work as a scientific production. Still, its positive merits, its earnestness of spirit, its manly sympathies, the unquestionable range of knowledge it evinces, and its occasional felicity of style, make it a most welcome contribution to the literature of social ethics.

"The natural probability of a reign of justice!" It seems evident that this depends on the answer given to several previous questions, which we must still regard as open questions before the public mind. For ourselves, we conceive that the chief present danger seems to lie in hasty and impatient generalization. It is important, we think, for the ultimate health of the social organism, that the questions referred to should be considered in all their bearings, and receive a deliberate reply. It is even desirable, for some of us, that they should be from time to time moved anew. And it is with the hope, not so much of throwing new light upon the discussion, as of pointing out in some directions how vital and radical are the principles it involves, that we have set in order the views below.

Of matters touching the political relations of society,

* See, for example, on England's coming *third* opportunity, p. 444. Also, p. 68.

† Logic, B. VI. ch. 5, § 5.

we shall say scarce a word. It seems to be generally conceded, that some definite answer must be found, at any cost, to the questions which so violently agitate the continent of Europe, and that any peaceable or satisfactory solution of the social problems that may lie beyond must be deferred till the issue of the impending strife is definitely known. The present position of affairs offers a curious contrast to that which so stimulated the passions and hopes of men four years ago. The several arbitrary governments, including that wielded in the name of the French Republic, seem to have taken a definite position hostile to the smallest extension of liberty; and, with the usual sagacity of despotic power, prepare for the coming trial of their strength by anxiously fastening down the safety-valves. Bribes are said to have been offered (in Milan) to the brutal hopes and passions of a degraded populace, in case it will make common cause with despotism, to keep the intelligent and resolute in check; it shall have a share in the spoil of confiscated wealth. And, what is by far the most painful symptom, and most ominous of all, the spiritual power of a religious organization, venerable and strong far beyond any other, is put forth against all signs of freedom. The Church of Rome seems thoroughly committed to resist that spirit of advance, which its chief rulers were most forward five years ago to prompt. So utterly has that Church renounced its divine office, to make just and harmonious the relations of men in a Christian state, that it distinctly pursues the policy of crippling the efforts of men by working on the religious fears of women, thereby declaring virtual war between the sexes; and its prelates in Lombardy, we are told, have demanded the odious task of informers to a foreign police, as the condition of admitting men to its spiritual privileges. All this, to say nothing of the frightful revelations respecting the state-prisons of Naples, and the desperate resources of French and Austrian policy. These things are part of the price paid for the present treacherous and deceptive peace. It is evident that all the hazards of the previous struggle must be encountered, before those questions we more especially refer to can be so much as approached.

These are questions affecting the peaceable progress

and ultimate prospects of Modern Civilization. We use the term in distinction from Ancient Civilization, which did not so much as intelligently raise these questions, and from Christian Civilization, which implies its ideal aim, and its perfect consummation. And for the present we consider only the practical side of the subject, — that is, the Mechanical, Ethical, and Social. There are deeper questions, of Philosophy, Science, and Theology, which it is not our purpose now to meet.

We consider first the case presented in the astonishing productive energy of the day, — the condition and prospects of men's industrial life, especially as affected by machinery. A prodigious, incalculable, and daily augmenting force is put within the reach of the human race. The toil of men's hands is superseded by the contrivance of their minds; and there is brought to pass a result more swift, sure, steady, abundant, and enduring than comes within the possibilities of human handiwork. Reduced to its lowest terms, machinery is simply the means by which we set the elemental forces of nature to labor for us. These are, to all intents and purposes, infinite and inexhaustible. Science detects them in her laboratory; and declares them to us every year, more subtile, more plastic, more energetic than before. Only see how simple is the act, and how prodigious both the apparatus and the result. Thus the one aim of a steam-engine is to induce a wheel to go round evenly, powerfully, and without stopping. Once get the motion, and the range of its power is almost infinite. The question is now, What agent, cheaper, compacter, and safer than steam, can effect the same result? Quicksilver, carbonic acid, and chloroform have been suggested. Electricity, which makes as it were the nervous circulation of the universe, has long tempted diligent investigation to this end, and in the hands of Professor Page is beginning to hold out promise of reward. Tide-water and volcanoes offer, to the hope of some, stores of inexhaustible and profitable energy; and Mr. Babbage predicts that Iceland, a region of eternal cold and eternal flame, will fulfil its commercial mission to some future age, by packing gas in cakes, and furnishing portable "reserved power" for exportation.*

* "Economy of Manufactures."

The gain in power is matched by an equal gain in economy. Machinery is cheaper than hand-labor; it underbids even slavery. The manual drudgery needful to accomplish the easy feats of enginery is quite incalculable. The great works of Egypt and Assyria were done, says Mr. Grote, by dint of "an unlimited supply of naked human strength." A single item is furnished us, for imperfect comparison. The greatest pyramid, Herodotus tells us,* took the labor of "a hundred thousand men at a time," for twenty years. The amount of labor on a single English railway was nearly double; and was performed by one fifth the number of men in one fourth the time.† And this, in a department of industry where machinery operates to far less advantage than in most others. The ordinary branches of manufacture exhibit it, as almost endued with an intelligent and creative power of its own. And prospectively it would seem, that in the supply of food, clothing, shelter, possibly even of fuel, in almost every art of life except the absolute reproduction and growth of thought, the toil of men's hands is to be only subsidiary to the toil of their brute and untiring machines.

And so the first legitimate effect of machinery is the emancipation of the mind. It rescues men from the wearing and infinite detail of perpetual toil. It leaves the thought free to range, the wit to invent, the soul to soar, the social instinct or affection to express itself, the artistic and creative faculty with leisure and aids for more complete development. If we must have such an amount of production, we must have the giant strength, the elfin delicacy and nimbleness, of machinery to aid us; or we should all be mere slaves and drudges to our most ordinary wants. That we can have by its agency so great an accumulation of cheap luxury and raw material of delight, may be a doubtful good; that we can have it without forfeiting every higher attribute of the mind and every nobler exhibition of the life, is a condition for which we cannot exaggerate the greatness of our debt. In the last and highest result, under a perfect organization of human society, it may thus secure — what no other thing conceivable could secure — to every individ-

* Lib. II. c. 124. † See North British Review for August, 1849.

nal, at once the satisfaction of every legitimate want, and the opportunity of unlimited culture. Thus machinery is the right arm of the democratic spirit of Christianity, — not the head to think, not the heart to love, but the strong right arm to execute.

One further civilizing effect of machinery may be alluded to, namely, its terrific power of destruction, which binds the nations under such heavy penalties to keep the peace. It is as if the mind of man recoiled from his own "devilish enginery." The work which half a century has wrought, a moment may undo. Valor becomes the sport of science. A thousand lives, painfully and with great cost nurtured, defended, and trained to the service of the state, are only as the dusky populace of the ant-heap before its dreadful and remorseless tread; and the stately fabric of civilization itself seems menaced by the terrific power it has generated. But, regarding the enginery of destruction only as a costly and powerful defence, and a force in reserve, we can recognize even here the alliance of machinery with human progress; and having surveyed for once its vast range for good or mischief, we may consider now its place and function in society, constituted as it is.

The next thing we notice is, that each improvement in machinery helps and benefits, directly or indirectly, every other class *except those engaged in its own sphere of production.* In its benefits at large, all share alike; in its incidental evils, precisely that class whose work it undertakes. Each effect is a legitimate and necessary one; but one or the other has been perpetually overlooked. Hence the sophisms of the economist, and the angry jealousy of the laborer. Along with the ruder and more laborious process, the unskilled artisan is thrown aside as obsolete and worthless. The gain to society and mankind at large is, that what is made is more cheaply, more abundantly, and more exactly made. The hand-loom weaver may starve in his sorrowful competition with the steam-driven cotton-mill; but society is the gainer, if one man can wield the productive energy of a hundred. The thousand operatives turned adrift by some new improvement in machinery may beg or steal; but society is certainly better able to feed them than it was before, though it may take a more expensive way of doing it. Machin-

ery tends constantly to make productive force cheap and common as the elements of light and air; and the temporary loss of the few is made up by the prospective advantage of all.

But here comes in the jar and dislocation of our social mechanism, and the unanswered problem of political economy shows itself. To the poor needle-woman, toiling fifteen hours in the twenty-four, daily laying up the seeds of fever or consumption, and scarce meeting her few and scanty daily wants, it should be a pure relief that a machine does her work more evenly and nimbly, and gives her time for rest. The immense toil of preparing lumber for the finer uses of furniture and finish, — how the weight of it is lightened by the planing-mill, and the circular knife, that cuts veneering thinner than a sheet of paper. The weary and unwelcome labor of washing-day, which comes six times in the week to a large class of poor women, what an emancipation and joy to them, to find it taken off their hands by some ingenious mechanical or chemical contrivance. But, instead of this, the laboring man and woman see, with dismay, their work and wages devoured daily by an inexorable competitor. The London seamstress dreads that the sewing-machine will remove the only remaining barrier between her and degradation or death. The Cincinnati mechanic burns the planing-mill. The New York washerwoman remonstrates in the "Tribune" against any thing that will lighten her labor by a single hour, and so deprive her of a single hour's pay. But their antagonist is a combination of wealth and science with the elemental forces of nature: it is the battle of an elephant and a child. The rival they fear and hate is of wood and steel: if it comes to a trial of strength, that is stouter; if of endurance, that has no stomach, and can afford to wait longer. In such a conflict, the weaker party must go to the wall. The machine will master the man.

Defeated, or passively submissive, in the hopeless rivalry, the man becomes the slave of the insatiate machine, — a drudge to wood and iron. His share is only to repair a broken thread, to adjust a sheet of paper, to tend a revolving wheel, to lubricate a joint, to slide a leathern band. Year in, year out, from morning to night, the same mechanical and weary routine must be repeated;

till some new device gives that too over to an iron hand, and one more class of laborers is superseded. And when this process is carried as far as it is in some of the older countries, the man's temper is made fierce and bitter by excessive competition; his soul is starved by the monotony of his perpetual task. Extreme division of labor has drilled many hands; stunted and impoverished many men. It is but a sorry account to give of life, said Paley, nearly seventy years ago, to have made the eighteenth part of a pin. A class of men in Sheffield abridge their life by ten years in polishing penknife-blades, or shaping the curve of the stem of a steel fork; and little girls in Manchester, it was once said, would fall asleep with weariness, while tending the remorseless loom, and sometimes be caught and broken on its horrid wheel. The daily task comes to be a daily struggle to keep destitution and death at bay, — perhaps a keen emulation, lest the place in that life-battle should be assigned to some one else.

Such, when carried fairly out, without the counteraction of men's benevolence, or the humane interference of the law, is the antagonism in modern industry between the living soul of man and the brute force of his marvellous machinery. Satisfaction of real wants has not kept pace with the development of productive energy. Fifty millions are fed and clothed where ten or five millions were before; but when it comes to the question of human welfare, as directly affected by it, we are tempted to quit broadcloth for homespun, and the cotton-factory for the distaff or spinning-wheel,* — but that to return is

* "Let us suppose that one thousand families were employed in the cultivation of one hundred thousand acres of land; that they lived, maintained themselves in decent plenty, reared their families in health, industry, honesty, and those manly qualities which, among the agricultural population of Great Britain, have assumed a higher character than in any other portion of the earth's inhabitants. Suppose that this population produce only as much as suffices for the plentiful support of all the individuals. Good. There is not, on the average of twenty years, any superabundance that can be called accumulated profit.

"This population, according to some political economists, would be a most unproductive, most useless portion of society.

"We deny the fact. This population has reared and produced *men*.

"Suppose, again, the great body of this population should be set to spin cotton, smelt iron, grind cutlery, and weave stockings; that at these occupations, by incessant toil, they should *produce*, not only as much as would support them, but one half more. According to political economists, these

impossible. The past closes for ever behind us. And for the future a question is laid open, which cannot be effectually met, until some practicable mode of association is devised, by which the workers can share directly in the productiveness of their work; nor until they have the education, discretion, thrift, and moral self-control to fit them for the new era of industry which that will introduce. "To this principle," says Mr. Mill, "in whatever form embodied, it seems to me that futurity has to look for obtaining the benefit of coöperation, without constituting the numerical majority of the coöperators an inferior caste." *

If now we look upon the moral element in our civilization, we find the same contradictions as before, and an unanswered riddle of equal magnitude. "Pauperism, Poverty, Infidelity, Vice, Crime, — these are five well-armed and most determined demons to fight with, — true children of the world, the flesh, and the Devil, which, jockey-like, cross and recross their breeds for ever, to keep up the health of disease, and the life of death." † There are two especial points of view from which we may regard this matter, as bearing upon the practical questions now before the general mind.

The first is, that the protection, order, and privilege of the better sort in the community (the aim and result of civilization hitherto), are purchased at the cost of an unknown amount of wretchedness and vice. Mandeville, in his Fable of the Bees, attempts to prove, in revolting detail, that the gross forms of intemperance and profligacy must be suffered to exist, as a sort of escape-valve of the passions of men, and as a guarantee of the decency and quiet of the favored classes. For example, he

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occupations would be incomparably more *profitable* than the agricultural occupations, and consequently much better for society.

"We deny the fact, and scout the inference. The production of *man*, and of man in his best condition, is the physical ultimatum of the earth; and any system whatever that sacrifices the workman to the work, — the man who produces the wealth to the wealth produced, — is a monstrous system of misdirected intention, based on a blasphemy against man's spiritual nature." — *Theory of Human Progression*, pp. 235 – 237.

* Political Economy, Book IV. chap. 7. On "the Probable Future of the Laboring Classes." We have before us a list of 208 "Associations Ouvrières Industrielles" existing in Paris, April 10, 1851. See New York Weekly Tribune, June 7, 1851.

† Memoir of J. H. Perkins, p. 115.

says, to secure the gains of commerce, you must keep sailors poor; to keep them poor, you must keep them reckless and vicious; and being so, they would be an intolerable nuisance, and no one would be safe from outrage and assault, unless we allowed the horrible dens and sties which pollute our commercial cities. Thus he attempts to show how wealth and virtue are directly interested in the propagation of misery and vice.

We trust his infamous book is not well enough known to render this brief exposition needless. Put in its bare form, and applied to the bald fact as it stands, the theory is too frightful to be coolly talked or thought of; yet the practice of civilized society is too often a virtual accepting of it. There is no large capital, hardly a little village, where a definite proportion are not victims, not to their own passions and lusts, but to those of others. There is probably not a single public journal, from the stateliest review to the humblest daily paper, that has not (for example) in the course of these last ten years exhibited a most formidable body of evidence, displaying the moral malady of all great cities. The efforts of humane and devoted men are hitherto just enough to show how every considerable place but adds to and corroborates the mass of testimony, — just enough to present the moral problem in its appalling distinctness and breadth. The courageous efforts of some few State legislatures to meet at first hand the fact of intemperance, gambling, or licentiousness, are as yet an experiment, of which we await solicitously the result. Remedy there is none found as yet to reach the secret source of the disease, on a scale at all matching its formidable extent; and, to all appearance, it seems as if it grew in each detail under the very hands of those who have tried to cope with it. Disguised under the various shapes of splendor, and pleasure, and enterprise, and public excitements, and the administering of the law, we find a terrible fatalism, which seems to seize on one great class, and draw them on to certain ruin. The gin-palaces and cheap lodging-houses of London, the brilliant saloons that entice to gambling and drunkenness in New York, the hellish devices which have made a science of corruption, and which yearly drag hundreds of the innocent to a life of infamy and a hideous death, are so many features in the moral condi-

tion of civilized society, which not only afflict the heart, but utterly confound and overpower the understanding. It is as if, in the unchecked competition of our social life, we were like children on the ice, where the current is swift, and on one side is certain death; and hitherto, for any care or skill of ours, a certain number daily fall upon the one dangerous spot and perish, while the rest do not help them, but are rather urging them that way.

The other perplexing feature in the moral condition of our time is the sophistry which weaves its web about questions of public ethics, — now flattering the self-love of the cowardly and base, now inciting a reckless popular ambition, now involving some brilliant, well-trained, and powerful intellect. The very sentiment of right, the very sanctity of conscience, comes to be undermined. On the one hand, the right to protest so much as by silent suffering against any supposable caprice of power, the bitter privilege of martyrdom itself, seems to have been called in question; and, on the other hand, all notion of human responsibility, or of right and wrong, is merged in some jargon of empty declamation about "manifest destiny," and a fatalism that overrides every consideration of humanity, and vindicates every crime. That recuperative energy with which God has endowed the human race, to keep on its career of progress, at least of hope, in spite of violence and disaster, through the sacrifice of men, of nations, of races, one by one, victims of their own passions or others' cruelty, is construed into his express commission to the strong to trample at their pleasure upon the backward, the ignorant, and the weak. That might makes right was the godless paganism of a lawless and violent age; translated into the modern dialect of manifest destiny, it becomes the sophistical cant of an age of order, decency, science, and civilization. Meanwhile, all men, in their sober thought, hold the judgment of conscience paramount. "Though I should die many times," said Socrates to his judges, "I will obey God rather than you; and I do not think that any thing will be of higher advantage to the state than my so doing."* The apparent denial of such a principle has thrown us back upon the fundamental questions of moral

* Plato, Apol. Socr., pp. 29, 30.

philosophy; as if, to meet the condition of the most advanced age of Christian civilization, we must reproduce all the ethical controversies of the past.

As all the rivers run into the sea, so the special questions now enumerated all guide to that deeper one, which touches the organization of society itself. Each type of civilization, each epoch of human progress, has its embodiment in social usages and laws; and great changes announced in men's thought and character are great changes foreshadowed in the institutions of their social life. That the prodigious attainment matured for us by the past, still more, the pressing questions offered to our contemplation now, indicate a more perfect and consummate, at least in some essential regards a different, order of society reserved for a future day, none of us can doubt. No form of human attainment is ultimate. The present is ripening the seeds of the future. Though passion and folly have despatched the problem quite too hastily, and though no man by dint of theory can fabricate outright the social mechanism of the coming age, yet all earnest minds, as by the call of Providence, look in that direction. There are wants that must be satisfied; there are claims that must be met. Perhaps all that can even be attempted now, is to ascertain the conditions on which a true solution must depend.

We do not attempt even so much as this; but only to show how inevitable it is that the matter should be fairly met. And without entering for the present into discussions so radical as those which some are desirous to press, we will consider Property, the Family, and Religion, as data which must be assumed; and will regard neither the outcry which certain "Socialists" have made upon them, nor the terror which has been felt in their behalf, as if they were put in peril by the opening of every fresh vein of human thought. Nor shall we speak as if any complete theory had been devised to meet the case; only hinting at one or two matters, which show that it is not all fanaticism and unreason that have led to this discussion of the first principles of the social organism.

Slavery and Pauperism are the two forms in which the question most ominously presents itself. As to the first, it is obvious that it has got to be done away, before we come upon the platform of the nineteenth century, and

deal with the legitimate questions of its civilization. The horrid pool of Pauperism, slowly forming and deepening in all our large cities, expanded in the older countries into a vast Slough of Despond, ingulfing yearly a larger proportion of the population, — with its margin of vice and crime, and its pestilential breath of despair and death, — is it, or is it not, a necessary element of our social state? * It is certainly the legitimate result of competition driven to an extreme, where there is neither prudence in the people to shun burdens they cannot carry, nor humanity exerted, strenuously, wisely, and constantly, for their instruction and relief. That there will always be disparities of fortune we need not deny; that a large and increasing class should be compelled, without any fault in themselves, or want of wealth in the community, to live in extreme and hopeless poverty, or to come upon public charity, is to a large and increasing number of thoughtful minds the sign of something radically unsound in the arrangements of our social state.

This also is a question which can be practically met only by the intelligence and virtue of the laboring class itself. Empty declamation here is worse than useless. The gradual uplifting of a mass which is sunk so low, requires strenuous self-denial, temperance, prudence, and earnest devotion among themselves as to a sacred cause, — all these working together for a great period of time. At best, we can only indicate the law of social evolution, insist upon the strict conditions by which improvement may be had, and give our sympathy and a helping hand to those that have resting on them the burden of the trial.

We have not wholly recovered from the cruel apathy with which it has been the way with many to speak of the condition and prospects of the poor. That vice or thoughtlessness is often at the bottom of the misery we see, no one doubts: to say that it is the source of it all, would be both falsehood and mockery. Can or cannot the causes of excessive poverty be removed, by better

* "Pauperism, — that fearful state of dependence in which man finds himself a blot upon the universe of God, — a wretch thrown up by the waves of time, without a use and without an end, homeless in the presence of the firmament, and hopeless in the face of creation." — *Theory of Human Progression*, p. 307.

laws of property, by improved methods of carrying on the work of production, by more equitable principles in the distribution of wealth? This is the simple question, — stripped of all disguise and vain theory, — which thoughtful men attempt to solve. It is a cowardly and cruel doctrine of some, that the question should not be discussed at all. They would seem willing to retain the miserably destitute, so as to add the luxury of almsgiving to the other luxuries of the rich. They profess a serious fear, lest people will all be so comfortable that there will be no room for struggle or energy of character; as if they really considered that a privilege, which they would die rather than expose their own children to. Lapsing into a species of fatalism as shallow as it is wicked, they even hint that it is better that society should be in the condition of a chronic invalid, saying that "high health" is not so favorable to energy of will or length of life; as if, in any event, high health were not the thing we are to aim at, with little danger of ever coming too near the mark. "Charitable people," says Mr. Mill, "have human infirmities, and would very often be secretly not a little dissatisfied if no one needed their charity; it is from them one oftenest hears the base doctrine, that God has decreed there shall always be poor." *

It is not a sentimental question of more or less, of charity and gratitude, or an abstract question of the right or wrong of property. But it is the terribly practical question of life or death to thousands. It is a question sometimes put in so sharp and stern a form as this: Whether that is a necessary alternative, — one which we are to accept, and at all hazards retain as one element in our social state, — which every year compels hundreds of women in the proudest centres of our civilization to choose between destitution and infamy; whether that is a healthy condition of things, and to last always, in which the most laborious class, as a general rule, is worst instructed, most exposed to vice and corruption, most squalidly lodged, and most poorly paid?

Such questions as these are coming inevitably to be asked more and more earnestly: it is well for us if they do not come to be asked fiercely. Laws and trade-

* Political Economy, Vol. I. p. 450.

unions, communities and associations, may do very little towards answering them wisely; but it is evident that the thoughtful and conscientious will be led in that direction, and that our social duties will be regulated by a severer standard of natural justice. Thoughtfulness, kindness, the exercise of sympathy, the removal of grosser mischiefs and temptations, will smooth the narrow and harsh path that conducts us to the future, and will bridge over what would otherwise be the widening and awful chasm between rich and poor.

We would fain hope that, in this regard, a survey of a few main points involved in the controversies of the present day, may not be wholly without its use. It may at least serve, on the one hand, to diminish the vague terror, or the cynic scepticism, with which the subject is too often regarded; or, on the other hand, to correct the bigotry and violence with which special points of controversy have been urged. Say what we may, the questions here alluded to are practical ones; and the wise and intelligent of our time will have to meet them. They are forced upon us, not by the voice of this or that declaimer who may chance to deal with them; but by the tendencies of the age, by the spontaneous thought of multitudes of men, by the frightful collisions, past or threatened, in which the settlement of one or another of them is sought.

To the humane and religious mind they will suggest one further thought, namely, that the work of humanity is not done yet, nor its course spent. They propose the task which the human race is to undertake. They signify that there is hope in store for us in the coming time, and that we are not to stop where we are. Glorious as is the achievement of the Past, the promise of the Future is greater yet.

Behind all questions touching human society and the external relations of men, is a deeper question touching their spiritual welfare, that salvation which comes only by faith. What is it to us that liberty is spread, that machines have been invented, that wonderful works of art are brought so near perfection, — that we can outstrip the wind or the bird of heaven in our flying race over the land, — that the sea is subdued to be our servant, — that we can converse with lightning speed at the distance

of half the earth's diameter? We may be borne as helplessly, as unresistingly, as unprofitably, upon the tide of things, as a battered wreck plunges over a waterfall, or drifts in the ocean surge upon the beach. There is no solitude so utter as the solitude of a crowd; and so there is no degradation so great as to be idle and powerless in the midst of all the means of power. A deeper misery, a more gloomy and complete despair, than could be known in a pagan age or barbarous land, comes upon the heart of him who, with every outward apparatus of felicity, with all the high-sounding words, progress, glory, power, happiness, freedom, dinned for ever in his ears, has no share in it of his own, — whether from a social position that denies it to him, or from hollowness of heart, that has no living response to give. The soul can be crushed, like the traitor girl of Rome, under the very multitude of the shining gifts. This final and deepest question lies at the heart of our civilization. The first answer and the last is found in the personal culture, the virtue, and the immortal hope of man.

J. H. A.

Art. IV. — THE NEW EXODUS.*

Of the numerous questions which Ethnology teaches us to ask, but few, if any of them, does it enable us to answer. The primitive dispersion of mankind, their distribution, their settlements, their mixture, lie beyond history, beyond tradition. An impenetrable darkness has gathered between us and the fundamental facts that could be a basis for science. What constitutes a race is not settled; what is the full influence of circumstance on man's physical and intellectual nature, is not determined by any induction large enough to warrant broad conclusions. By what means a type is originated, and how it comes to be permanent, we have no method of deciding. Before recorded date, mixtures and admixtures

* *Man and his Migrations.* By R. G. Latham, M. D., F. R. S. New York: Charles B. Norton. 1852. 16mo. pp. 261.

of men have been innumerable, and long before history began, primitive forms must have been lost beyond the possibility of discovery. As a mere hypothesis, separate from all moral and other considerations, the supposition of many Adams and Eves does not simplify the matter, — nay, it complicates it; for the difficulty is greater to discriminate the elementary varieties, and to affiliate each with its distinct parentage, than it is to reconcile the existence of all varieties as they are with the idea of a single original pair. Theological views we leave out of the question; but this latter idea harmonizes so well with the simple human brotherhood which our best moral feelings desire, and with psychological unity, to which all the profoundest researches into thought and language testify, that, were it not also supported by some of the greatest authorities in the science of the subject, we should be inclined to receive it on the ground of its ethical worth and of its spiritual consistency.

In such inquiries we are soon in the dark, even within the range of tradition and history. Nations that played great parts in the world's affairs are obscured or lost. The Egyptians have mute testimonies in their pyramids, and some doubtfully articulate ones in fragments of their hieroglyphics. A few broken notices of the Assyrians have recently been brought dimly into view by the discoveries of Layard. From what men regard as the buried Nineveh, some sculptured and lettered stones are drawn into the light. After many ponderings, a few meanings may glimmer out of them, and these meanings are all that we shall have from the *mind* of a once vast empire. The Etruscans, almost as near to us as the Romans, are an absolutely silent people. Works that seem of almost superhuman strength bear witness that they *were*, and that amounts to nearly all we know about them. Who they were, where they came from, we are as ignorant of, as we are of things before the flood. *Two words* of their language — "*avil ril*" — are interpreted and said to mean *vixit annos;* but Niebuhr objects to the interpretation, and maintains that Lanzi struggles against truth, because no shadow of an etymology can be found for *ril* to mean "year." The *Pelasgi* in speculations on ancient history are very much what the *Celts* are in speculations on modern history, —

subjects for *deep* writing with meaning out of reach. Niebuhr, despite of his fine sagacity, has been allured by these "*Pelasgi.*" Grote makes little of them.

"If any man," he says, "is inclined to call the unknown ante-Hellenic period of Greece by the name of *Pelasgic*, it is open to him to do so; but this is a name carrying with it no assured predicates, no way enlarging our insight into real history, nor enabling us to explain — what would be the real historical problem — how or from whom the Hellenes acquired that stock of dispositions, aptitudes, arts, &c., with which they began their career. . . . . No attested facts are present to us, — none were present to Herodotus or Thucydides, even in their own age, — on which to build trustworthy affirmation respecting the ante-Hellenic Pelasgians."

But even that Hellenic aggregate, that marvellous nation which we call the Greeks, would now be unknown to us, had not some manuscripts escaped the wreck of time. As it is, how little do we know? We know not of what elements that aggregate consisted. We know not whence their descent, their language, or their arts. Their great epic, which is still the epic of the world, is as much a mystery as to its origin as it is a wonder for its beauty. The sources of their traditions, of their policies, and of their laws, are in the depths of shadow. Nay, under the clearest light of public affairs, their private life and manners are most obscure to us. No remnant exists of a Grecian house, — and its parts, and the uses of them, are subjects of conjectural and of contradictory description. An ancient ship is still a puzzle. There is nothing more strange in our eventful history, than the rapidity and completeness with which the material results of civilization vanish from the earth and perish out of memory. Some few solid works stand in mutilated wrecks, but the houses, the homes, the ploughed fields, the rural hamlets, — even great cities, — whatever would give men's nearest existence to our thoughts, — these all melt away as the snows of winter.

We deny not the existence of varieties among men; for that would be to blind our intellects as well as our eyes. We take facts as we find them, and leave theories where they ought to be left, in the region of speculation and conjecture. "When the wind is southerly we know a hawk from a hernshaw," — but there is no rea-

son why we should not know it also when the wind is northerly. So we can know a black man from a brown, and a brown from a white, without a theory. After this we shall judge each according to what he shows himself, and even in that we shall take more into account his opportunities than his race. With mere abstract capacity we have no concern. We have no measure for duration or possibility. *History is young:* and if we had every fact in our memory that history could afford us, and could apply it with the rectitude of an infallible science, we should still feel that our data were poor; we should still feel that we were inadequate to predicate concerning the early past of man of any type, or of his distant future. We cannot say to what man living we could give the primogeniture of the past, and there is no man from whom we would take the inheritance of the future. If the past is a claim to pride, no man can prove his title; if the future is the right of hope, every man is born to it. Hope is the common property of life, and he who tells his brother to despair utters an accursed speech. We would, if our words could reach or could encourage him, say to the savage in Australia, "Grovel not, — be a man and hope"; we would say to the negro on the Niger or Alabama, "The breath of the Eternal Spirit gave you a soul, by soul you are immortal and a MAN; look upward and look onward." We carry no theories in these matters into our habitual feelings, or into our practical ethics. Theories that would give to any special tribe, if such a one could be found, the oligarchy of the earth, we consider it philosophical, as well as Christian, to disbelieve. Of late we have heard much of both Celt and Saxon. But where is the Celt, where is the Saxon, — and how are we to know him? The Irish are called *Celts*, the English *Saxons*, in reference, at least, to the blood which is supposed to *predominate* in each: but if we trust the logic of the work named in connection with this article, there is probably as much Celt in the English as in the Irish; as much Saxon in the Irish as in the English; as much of Norman in both as either of Saxon or of Celt. We know no more complete disturbance to one's faith in theories as to descent, than the *facts* with which life in a mixed population supplies experience. The Irish face, for instance, in the humbler

classes, is, out of Ireland, very generally marked and known. The Irish face in England is distinct from the English; in America, distinct from the American; and this distinction is expressed commonly in both countries by the term *Celtic*. A person who understands the Irish population with the intimacy of a native, who knows the particular histories of localities and families, is aware that the judgment thus formed, in England and America, is frequently a radical mistake. He has constantly observed countenances most distinctively *Irish* in respect to Americans or English, — but he has certain evidence that they belong to families that are of unmixed descent from British settlers. In many districts of Ireland, even the latest settlers became as intensely Irish in language, in manners, and in look, as families who traced back their descent in Ireland for centuries before them. We have known men who bore English names, who spoke only with Gaelic tongues; and men we have also known, who claimed a genealogy of O's, reaching to Noah through Nial of the Nine Hostages, and Con of the Hundred Battles, who had no word but English. But suppose that every man could say upon absolute evidence that he was genuine *Celt* or genuine *Saxon*, — to what purpose would it be? It does nothing for his personality. If he is a knave, it does not make him honest; if he is a fool, it does not make him wise. He is, indeed, of a wretched and of a puny spirit, who is content to fall back upon his race for assurance of respect, and who is not conscious that all which can most degrade him, and all which can most exalt, belongs to his individuality. He is of a menial soul who cannot respect himself until he find some one lower than himself to scorn; but, indeed, he who scorns any man for his race has none lower than himself to find. In practical life, take a man for what he is worth, Celt or Saxon, and let archæological traditions, and ethnological theories, stay within the confines of the schools. We might extend our remarks in this direction, but they would carry us too far from our subject.

Our subject is "Irish Emigration," — *the New Exodus*, as it has not been unaptly termed. This Irish migration is peculiar. Were it not so clear before us in the light of fact, it would have an epic grandeur; as it

is, it has not a little of the solemn and the tragic. We will not attempt to give the philosophy of it. The attempt would only lead us over ground that has already been examined in this journal; or into disquisitions that involve many subjects of dispute. Ireland, historical and social, is no neglected subject; if it is not yet understood, it is not from the want of exposition and discussion. After all that has been written, each according to his bent will still form his own theory by which to account for the present in the past. We pretend to nothing here, but to mark in this movement a few impressive and distinctive circumstances. We are struck by its magnitude. A whole people is in motion, — mighty as an ocean, and continuous as its waves. Compared with the crowds which are steadily quitting Ireland for ever, the armies that all Europe furnished for the Crusades were trifling bands. The movement, too, is characterized by singular unity, persistency, and decision. Multitudes, in spontaneous action, are changing finally their nation and their homes. The young mother with her first-born is among them, and so is the grandmother; the boy in the first decade of his life, and the patriarch verging towards his century. They hope not to return. Those whom they leave behind have their worst grief in being left, and their best consolation in the hope to follow. What is there in the world, what is there in history, upon which the mind can dwell so wonderingly and so sadly? These multitudes flee not before the sword; there is no sound of arms in the land. They leave it in silence; their steps are not heard. They raise not their weepings; they go down quietly into the holds of ships; and darkness and the noises of the ocean are about them. Their exodus is not, like that of the Israelites, a flight from bondage, it is a departure by choice; and yet they love their native land with the force of passion. They have no flesh-pots behind them to regret, — alas that it should be written! — not in jest, but in gloomy truth, — they have not even potatoes to lament. In lower value, also, than the Israelites, their rulers do not hinder, but hasten, their departure, and there are some that seem to regard it in the light of an advantage. Depopulation is the new idea of a political millennium, and space, emptied of its native bone and muscle, a clearing for a future Hiber-

nian Eden. Crime and misery will be carried across the Atlantic; it is then, perhaps, hoped that owners and rulers of the land will be able to find inhabitants for it, who will cover it with peace, plenty, and innocence. There may at least be room for the experiments; for, if the present movement continues, there will be vacancy enough for the new generation, and not sufficient of the old population to corrupt it with ancient prejudices.

The Irish, meaning always by the *Irish* the people as distinct from the aristocracy, have ever been drawn cordially towards America; not only by the hospitable refuge which it opens to them, but also by republican feelings. It may seem strange and paradoxical, — yet it is so, — the masses of the laboring Irish are republicans. Were Ireland independent to-morrow, it would not be a monarchy. The people, it is true, have the sources of their enthusiasm in the past, and their habits of thought are traditional; but the past and the traditions with which they have sympathy, are too remote to be reproduced in any new order of things. There are no means, therefore, by which even a native monarchy could be created, which would bind them to it with a vital loyalty. They come hither, it may be, not with political intelligence, but they come with political aptitudes ready for our institutions. They come hither, also, — we will say it, — with a spirit of affection for our country. Next to their own, America is the land of their love, and next to their own it ought to be. It is now not merely a land of hope, it is almost a land of family, — and many, if called on to decide, would not be able to say whether there were more of their kindred in America than in Ireland. But at present, more than ever before, they look towards America and crowd to it. Physical privation began the present movement, — a privation aggravated to extremity by famine and evictions. To this we may add political despair. Both united deepen and extend emigration, and already it has a force independent of the causes from which it received its original impulse. But the latest and the strongest of these causes, we repeat, is political despair. The aspirations which were awakened by O'Connell, and kept alive by his agitations, his promises, his prophesies, and his eloquence, opened to a people like the Irish, of quick imagination and passionate nationality, brilliant vistas

of independence and glory. But successive delays began to undermine faith, and repeated disappointment to wear out patience. Desire was strong as ever, but coming no nearer to fruition, it grew into despondency. Wish and belief ceased to correspond. Nationality was the strongest sentiment in the native heart; and that great majority whom this heart animated had no sympathy with British imperialism. Nay, they had a most decided repugnance to it. They had no pride in it; it did not belong to them; they did not live, they were only lost in it. Of its honors they had little, and of its glories they had none. Its fullest citizenship did not meet that aching, that longing of desire, which centuries of subjection could not stifle. That Ireland should be swallowed up in the vastness of British imperial power, was worse even than servitude. A sway which had to be maintained by force, implied a vigor in the governed which was feared; so that pains, and penalties, and coercion, hard as they were, were still evidence that nationality was not subdued, and the persistency which was still strong enough to provoke them was also strong enough to endure them. There was in this endurance dignity; and any suffering had compensation, which proved that the nation was not extinguished; for national extinction, imperial freedom was no equivalent. It had no value to the mass of the people, if it did not serve as a means to national restoration. But this of late was losing even to the sanguine the show of probability. Years gathered on O'Connell; gloom gathered on the people. The imprisonment of the great tribune was as a stroke of palsy to their expectations. There was now no likelihood that the halls of Tara would ever be rebuilt; the harp of silent memories was not to be restrung, and give them sounds of renovated glory. "The songs of the olden time" were not to be hymns of victory to a new generation. From the dispiriting citizenship of British imperialism, not a few looked back with regret to the era of 1782, and even to the bad days beyond it. They were not, indeed, times to be commended; but there was *life* in them; there was hilarity in them; and, above all, there was hope in them. Bigotry and faction, local tyranny and political corruption, abounded among the gentry, but numbers, even of the vicious among them, were kindly hearted, and among the virtuous there

were a few patriots, who would have redeemed the worst ages, and adorned the best. The peasants had no votes, but they had frolic; they were, indeed, degraded, but they were not outcasts. Dublin was confined, compact, and dirty. Its streets were not broad and lofty, but neither were they empty and dilapidated. Grand buildings had not yet arisen to be gaudy ruins, and statues did not look down in stony mockery upon destitution and desolation. Dublin was small; it was not grand, but it was cheerful; it was not liberal, but it was hearty. Its mansions were hospitable. They abounded with good cheer, and they shone with beauty; and both the good cheer and beauty were native and abundant. Life could be easily more orderly and more imposing than in those days it was in Dublin, but it would be hard to have it more brilliant, more intellectual, or more graceful. The Irish University, the Irish Parliament, and the Irish bar, all centred in Dublin, and they were all that learning and oratory could make them. The public men of the day were familiar with the languages of Greece and Rome. Many of them equalled the greatest of ancient statesmen in grandeur of eloquence, and transcended them in grandeur of sentiment. They were men to be proud of; and now many who decry their measures glorify their genius. Even Donnybrook fair had its charms. Its song and dance, its capers and fun, its shows and juggleries, its whiskey-drinking and shillelahs, formed a grotesque comedy: it was the saturnalia of a people whose life was made up of strange and queer contrasts; it was the burlesque and aggregate of their oddities. It was no lofty exhibition, but it was distinctive, vital, national. Subsequent changes brought liberty, enlightenment, politics, discussion, parish-schools, and poor-rates. Then came the inevitable and unseen events of potato-rots, famine, cholera, the decline of the population with pestilential rapidity, the bankruptcy of patricians, and the despair of plebeians. It was despair every way. Fact became a terrible reality. No ardor could resist, and no rhetoric could disguise it. O'Connell himself quailed before it; his words were bold, but his spirit was sinking. He sickened: so did the people's hope: it died with him in his death, and it was buried in his grave. Young Ireland put forth its voice; nothing was around it but popular

despondency, and none answered to its call. It was not indifference in the people, it was not inaction in the priests, which caused this want of response to the insurrectionary call; it was despair in both, — the despair of instinct in the one, the despair of intelligence in the other. And both were right. Both, in their respective modes, understood that to face the banded armies of the British empire, at peace, was simply to rush upon destruction. They forbore; multitudes died of hunger; and now all are quitting Ireland who can. They come hither with increasing numbers, and with increasing rapidity. The aggregate swells as it moves, and the momentum quickens with continuance. Hitherward they come, and until impeded by some natural law, hitherward they will come. Every thousand that arrives is an encouragement for ten thousand others. It is also for them a preparation and a power. The forerunners encourage those behind them to follow by their example; they supply them with funds to enable them to come; and by being here already, they strip exile of its repulsiveness, by awaiting them with the welcome of friendship and society. These are influences that increase by their own action, and that by every successive exertion become stronger and stronger. The attraction will soon so preponderate in this direction, that no force on the other side can counteract, or even counterbalance it. No offers of land, no advances in wages, no guarantees for independence, no indications of prosperity, will be sufficient to keep emigrants at home, or to induce them to return.

But instead of looking at these emigrants in the mass, we will take one of them as an individual, — an individual of the laboring order, — and trace him in four transitions of his course; namely, in leaving Ireland, in landing in America, in arranging for settlement, and in being settled.

Departure from one's native shore is, under any circumstances, a serious movement, and is melancholy when most hopeful. To be able to quit with indifference the land of youth, of friends, and of all first emotions, we cannot regard as a heroic virtue, but as a selfish vice. And the instinct of attachment to native things, which makes it grief to part from them, is no matter of education. It belongs to the human heart, and it is a

grief which is likely to be more poignant in the breast of the laborer than in that of the scholar. When we consider how local and restricted laborious life is, especially in olden countries, we will not count the trial small which wrenches it away from all its native associations. These native associations are of great value, and whatever the political economist may assert, it is, we think, no common hardship, that an honest man, who is willing and able to work, cannot, if he so desires, find subsistence in the country which bore him, and a grave in the soil which holds the dust of his fathers. The poor man's pride suffers by emigration, as well as his affections. Whatever the poor man can glory in — after his conscience — lies near him. The sphere of his life is not that of a nation, not even of a country, scarcely of a parish; it is that of his immediate neighborhood. Beyond that he is not known, and away from that he loses consequence. There the worth of his character is understood, and there are the witnesses of his integrity. His manners are not there grotesque, because they are in keeping with the manners of those around him; and the habits which expose him elsewhere to mockery are, where he was born, the habits of associates. That fortune of an upright fame, which was all the wealth he had, he loses for the time when he quits his home. The distant man will not know his claim, — it may be that he will be slow to learn it, or careless to give it credit. He must depart; he must go he knows not whither, and he must meet he knows not whom; he must turn from the fields in which, while he had leave to toil in them, summer was pleasant and winter was not bitter. Away in strange lands, he must look for another life, and try as best he can to learn it. It will be long repugnant to him. He quits his country from poverty, — that, in itself, is a hard and forbidding thing, turn where he may. Poverty has manifold disadvantages. Even the outside of it is often read by the benevolent as they would read a bill of indictment. It is not comely; and, like an idiot in a family, the tolerance of it is local. It is not so with wealth. It is for all countries, and has friends everywhere. It is cordial and inspiring to all who come near to it. Wealth is, indeed, a most admirable talisman for the discovery of gracious people. The rich man upon

his travels must be hard to please, if he does not receive all the attentions he can pay for; and they must be dull with a stupidity not often found in civilized regions, upon whom the charm which he bears has no power. Bright looks and welcome wait upon it, and though *heart* is not salable, smiles are ready, and smiles are sufficient for the passing hour. Fair apparel and a full purse are always pleasingly intelligible; and the best letter of introduction is a letter of credit. Music is said to be a universal language, but of no music is this so true as of the music of the mint. It is a fine softener of the harsher passions. Even bandits become tender to the sound of doubloons. They treat with distinguished consideration the plethoric trader, whose money-bag is as protuberant as his paunch; but they pummel without remorse the miserable pretender whose purse is as emaciated as his jaws. Practical philosophy in prosperous nations sets a direful mark upon poverty. Misfortune is often taken as the sign of evil, and as the evidence of crime. Poverty in the view of this philosophy is a repulsive caitiff, a worthless villain, a most unmitigated scoundrel. A worn hat covers an empty pate; a seedy coat conceals a suspicious character; and a ragged wretch is a self-evidently ragged rascal. There is, however, a kindlier philosophy than this, — and we think a wiser one, — which believes that an honest heart may beat under a threadbare garment, and that even the emigrant clad in shreds may have a conscience of unstained integrity.

The Irish emigrant leaves the shores of his country, very commonly, under much illusion. General reports concerning America reach him with many exaggerations, — exaggerations which, coming to his imaginative temperament from the far-off land of his fancy and his hope, he easily believes in the land of his sufferings and his despair. Private accounts are seldom more exact than general reports. The Irish settler in America, who has attained to any degree of comfort, writes a glowing account of it to his relative and neighbor at home. Under the influence of novelty and contrast, the settler cannot write with cool exactness; under the influence of distress, and desire to escape from it, the recipients of the letter find even more promise than the letter meant. Add to

this, that the writer is seldom a master of expression, and that, if he were, the reader would rarely be able to enter into its precision. The illusion, however, would be soon dispelled, were it confined to the poetry of sweet words; but not so, — it is corroborated by substantial benefits. From every part of this wide Union, the inland mails come burdened to the British ones, with rudely directed letters; most are for Ireland, and all contain remittances. Rough as they are in diction, they are generous in spirit. They tell not of the hardship with which this money was earned; they tell not of the sacrifices with which it was spared; they merely say, If you are hungry, buy food with it, but if you can spare it from your wants, use it to quit Ireland, and come to America. Take into account how often this is the import of letters from America, — silent on disappointment, exultant on success, — it will not then seem surprising, that a belief should prevail that a country from which money comes in such abundance must have money beyond measure, and that money so graciously bestowed must be easily acquired. Many a man, therefore, about to emigrate, fancies, and not unnaturally, that, if once in the great land of Columbus, he has only to show himself to obtain employment, and that to have employment is to be on the certain road to wealth.

Leaving a country so under the dominion of class and caste as Ireland is, some things which he has heard of men's social relations in America lead him often into very erroneous ideas of Liberty and Equality. The ploughman, indeed, can shake hands with the President, but, also, "a cat can look at a king." In the practical concerns of life, these two possibilities are about of equal worth. A servant may cut mutton with his master; but if he is a master who adds French sauces to his mutton, the servant merely looks on and beholds him eat it. Turtle-soup admits of no plebeian companionship, and no free and enlightened citizen, even of our glorious republic, drinks Burgundy with his butler. The liberty and equality which the emigrant will meet, all that he can reasonably desire, are the liberty and equality which afford him an unobstructed scope for whatever his capacity and opportunities enable him to be. Not merely an unobstructed scope either, but many aids

and encouragements besides. Yet grades and social differences are here, as well as in the nation he is leaving. No citizen in this country but can do something in making a president; for any one citizen, however, to be made a president, is really a hard matter. Some great citizens — of magnificent genius — have struggled for it all their lives, and yet have missed it. It is for this reason, that, whenever we are in conversation with a very ambitious mother, we always advise her in her hopes for a gifted son to be moderate, — never to let her aspirations soar above the chief-justiceship. In testimony to the reasonableness of womanhood and maternity, we must say that we have seldom met a mother, either among our native or our adopted citizens, who was not willing to be content with this modest expectation. Every mother cannot be the mother of the Gracchi; neither can every mother be mother of a president. In a word, and seriously, the man is most wisely prepared to come here, who comes with the conviction that he will have to enter on an obstinate and hardy effort; and the friend who aids him towards this conviction gives him most efficient help.

The second stage in our emigrant's transition — that of his landing — is not a very cheering one. It is not a cheering subject for description, — it is not one that is likely to gain a pleased attention from the American reader, or to kindle the soul of an Irish writer. The emigrant, whom we must take to represent the most numerous class, is often ill prepared to leave, and, if possible, worse prepared to land. He has but touched the shore, when many of his illusions disappear. The hard realities which he finds are extremely unlike the visions of which he dreamed. Frequently he stands almost penniless in the city into which he is thrown. He who was at home unused to towns, finds himself instantly a stranger amidst a measureless wilderness of streets and throngs. The pressure of great masses surrounds him. The hum of care, of commerce, or of pleasure, which fills the air about him, has no sound in it that his fancy can interpret into welcome. But the emigrant is not always friendless; perhaps seldom entirely so. The same hospitable feelings which bind neighbors and relatives to one another in Ireland, are still more powerful when

they come together in America. Shelter and food are often gratuitously given, — and this, not for days, but for weeks. A poor man will not turn out the acquaintance whom he knew at home, while he has space upon his floor, and a slice remaining of his loaf. We are in possession of facts, which convince us that there is ever going on among the Irish a mutuality of assistance, that strangers to the Irish character do not know, and cannot even imagine. The vices of the Irish are open, passionate, uproarious, often sanguinary, — their virtues are silent, domestic, personal. The vicious Irishman always attracts attention. He is soon felt in a community of order as a disturbing character, and he is quickly brought to punishment. Undoubtedly he deserves it, and let him have it. We have noticed with very great breadth of attention the records of crime in the courts of the country. It could not be disguised under any assumption of journalism that the writer of this paper is an Irishman, and therefore we (using, of course, the *we* of journalism) have been sensitive for our countrymen. We have noticed that they are here, much as they are at home, the criminals of the impulsive passions, — seldom of the calculating ones. We have observed that the murders they have done have been generally in hours of insanity, and under the illusions of excited blood and brain. Not the better, we admit, than other kinds of murder, but different. When we have seen cases of astute incendiarism, with no object but to cheat insurance companies, — when we have read of instances of cool and planned assassination for the mere increase of property, — when we have noticed the execution of frauds, that by their genius and augustness of perpetration gave the miscreants who contrived them infamous celebrity, — we have never found them Irish. In the report of a charge delivered not long since by a magistrate to a jury, we read the assertion that foreigners committed crimes of which natives had hardly a conception. It was a severe saying, and, coming with the solemnity of judicial expression, peculiarly affected us. We not only doubted the fact, but disbelieved it. Such is humanity, that wherever men aggregate there is great sin, and no nation has a title to cast the first stone. But we have to claim for the Irish the poor freedom from crimes

foreign to our nature. Wicked and reckless in their passions though they are, we claim for them also a rare gentleness and kindliness in their virtues. Among these virtues is their neighborly affection, their social humanity. Such virtues abound among them; they abound without notice, beyond notice, and they abound no less in their emigrant than in their native relations. We have been much impressed with this fact in America.

There is something almost Jewish in their adherence to each other and to Ireland: except, indeed, that now and then contests arise among them, which show that they have not, like the Israelites, forgotten their feuds in their dispersion. Still, the analogy is on the whole a just one, — in their exile they forget much that separated them at home, and they love as well as forget. Were it not for the aid that residents here from Ireland afford privately to recent comers, not a few would perish every season. We ourselves have known of zealous Catholics giving shelter to deep-blue Protestants, — and in a small apartment, — more than illustrating the prophecy of the lion lying down with the lamb, in the Ribbon-man holding communion with the Orange-man, and feeding him. We personally have not known the converse, — but we have no doubt that the converse also has often taken place. A numerous class must have work in the cities, or near the sea-board, or despair. Necessity thus crowds the cities and the sea-board. But even when the Irish emigrant has funds, he is too apt to remain in cities until they are exhausted. He falls then under a like necessity with him who was on his arrival destitute. Nay, by becoming an additional candidate in competition for leave to toil, he doubles the difficulty on them both.

There is that in an Irishman's disposition which abhors the wilderness, and yet there is that in it also which renders cities and masses dangerous to him. The sense of solitude is to the Irish heart intolerable. Among his fellows he likes to live; among his fellows he likes to die; living or dying, he seems to act always in accordance with the primitive announcement, "It is not good for man to be alone." He likes to be christened in a crowd; he likes to be married in a crowd; and he likes to be buried in a crowd. We once knew an Irish Catholic, who tried his hand at turning Protestant. But on

the day that he attended church the congregation was miserably small: the new convert became alarmed, turned from the porch, ran back as fast as he could, nor stopped a moment, until he felt himself warmly and comfortably at Mass in the sweltering perspiration of a throng which made his bones ache, but put his heart at ease.

We also knew an Irish Protestant, who, as he advanced in years, became very anxious as to the prospective credit of his funeral. His family had been popular, albeit they were Cromwellian. It was not the Bible-portion of their trooper ancestor's spirit which came down to them, but the fighting, riding, and drinking tendency of it. This was at least the part of it which this son of it inherited. His ancestors voted for penal laws, but never executed any; they fought duels, cracked jokes as they snapped pistols, and loved men all the better who tried to shoot them, or whom they tried to shoot. They were famous at fox-hunts. The father of the individual to whom we refer had his stables covered with trophies gained in this heroic exercise, and was as proud of fox-tails as an Indian warrior is of scalps. The men of this family drank claret with Catholic priests whom they might have hanged, and winked at religious ceremonies which they had declared high treason. They horse-whipped peasants, but played football with them; they would not have them free, but they made them drunk. They were vigorous and hardy fellows; not a man of them was ever sober at night, or a sluggard in the morning. They were great Protestants, but poor theologians. They would have stumbled in the commandments. They gloried in Cromwell, but they knew as much of the doctrine of the Westminster divines, as they did of Melchisedek's father. But they were wonderfully popular, and all of them had big funerals. O'Connell and politics stopped this course of things, and the individual to whom we allude felt that this was a sore grievance. He wished to walk quietly in the way of his fathers, and be as numerously attended to the grave. He had not their hearty zeal for Cromwell, nor their hearty hatred of the Pope, — it was a sort of mixed feeling; like his whiskey and water, it was half-and-half. He, too, was popular, for he was reckless, jovial, and social; and in quieter times he might have died a Protestant, and yet had a mile-long

funeral. It had in some manner, however, got into the popular mind, that at the last he intended not to send for the parson, but the priest. This was his puzzle,—if he sent for the parson, he would have a poor chance of a procession, since he himself made a considerable part of the Protestant congregation. He was a large man, and in his way respectable. If he sent for the priest, he would have a burial worthy of his ancestors, and be carried to the grave as they were, with thousands in attendance. The wish for the big funeral was decisive, and so he sent for the priest.

This strong social feeling of the Irishman has its evil side, therefore, as well as its good. It exposes him to much peril, and especially in circumstances that are new and strange. It induces him to fix himself in cities, and he soon becomes so enslaved in them that he cannot quit them. He must have companionship, and that which he can have for little seeking, it were well for him if it were hard to find. And thus it comes that emigrant after emigrant adds particle to particle to that living flood of city populations pregnant with mysteries of suffering and struggle; a collective mass of stationary toil and want, palsying to individual endeavor and fatal to individual character.

Emigration from Ireland hither must now, we think, become a grave subject for the statesman. Henceforth this movement will not be confined to day-laborers. It will include the farmer, the trader, the scholar, the capitalist. They will come with their money, their energy, and their skill; and in accordance with its increased importance and magnitude, the movement must assume consistency and purpose. In this the humble emigrant cannot but gain advantage. But in the mean time, the first need to him is a care for him on his arrival. That care would be repaid a hundred-fold, not only in charity, but in saving. Every emigrant rescued from the city is given to the soil, and every emigrant given to the soil is a fund of productive wealth given to the nation. This care implies nothing in the least derogatory to the emigrant's independence; nothing impertinent, and nothing obtrusive. It is simply the kindly interference of a benignant hospitality. This care might, we think, be used in one particular for incalculable good; that is, in providing for the emigrant cheap, honest, and comfortable

boarding-houses. There is, it seems to us, a beneficent use of capital, even to a strictly mercantile end; for there may be a beneficent motive in choosing one method of gain rather than another, though nothing in the measure of gain is either risked or lost. The capital invested in model lodging-houses in London is a profitable investment; but it is not the less a beneficent one. Investments in model emigrant boarding-houses in American cities would be as secure, and a not less noble use of money. In a truly grand sense, it would be a fulfilment of that Divine Word, which declares that in the person of the sheltered stranger Christ himself is cared for and harbored.

Emigrants should aim to settle upon land. This is the third topic of our subject. The rule must have many modifications and exceptions, but we hold to its general spirit. In cities emigrants, as a mass, have no hope but servitude. Even this becomes more and more precarious. We have ourselves made earnest exertion for emigrants, without success, to procure very servile employment. The difficulty daily increases, as any one may know who takes the least interest in the condition of destitute strangers. Away from cities the public works are becoming crowded. Canals are out of date, at least as highways of travel. Railroads, however multiplying, keep no pace with the constant supply of labor. The present condition of Europe, and all the signs which indicate its future condition, lead us to infer, that the tide of population hitherward has only begun to flow, and that we have as yet but the ripple of its swell. It is not wise, then, nor prudent, to rest for support upon any specific forms of labor. We say nothing against labor on public works or in private homes. It is honest labor; and all honest labor is manly. The work is honest, we admit, but there is no hope in the work; it is manly, but it has not the force of individual progress in it. It is not vital and expansive; it is void of impulsion and aspiration. We would therefore say to every Irish emigrant, to every Irish laborer, "If you have means, settle on your own spot of soil; dig for yourself; be your own master: if you have not means, try to acquire them; and to this purpose direct your energies and your earnings." Life upon the soil ought, we think, to be congenial to the

feelings and the habits of an Irish emigrant. The moor, the hill-side, the meadow, the copse, the wood, the mountain, the potato-garden, and the grain-field, were the scenes amidst which he was reared. Country sports were the amusements of his youth, and country employments the toils of his manhood; and when we ourselves go back and live in memory, our dream is on the hill, looking around us for the solitary shepherd, or in the harvest-time, gladdened by the multitude of mowers and reapers. We should think that such labors would have in themselves a great incitement. Gallantly to sway the scythe, bravely to wield the sickle, steadily to guide the plough, are occupations which, we think, a man would not, if he could, forsake, to heave mud out of dikes, or to carry burdens upon wharves. When reduced to this toil, he would often, we fancy, call to mind the green pastures of former times, — the song of the linnet and the lark, the familiar cock-crow, the deep notes of the blackbird and the thrush, — and though he could not have these things back again, he would often wish, we should imagine, for a life more like to that which he had among them. There is something, too, in the ownership of acres which is grateful to an Irishman's pride. Though the acres which a man first acquires bring with them no boast of heirship, yet if a man pines for a dream of ancestry, let him look onward to his grandchildren, and be, as Sir Boyle Roche would say, a grandfather to himself. To be serious, a hardy workingman can find no position with so much dignity in it, with so much of real independence, as that of a cultivator. Toil on land ennobles his position, and removes it from all that would render it inferior and invidious. Toil on a man's own land, be the land ever so wild, is toil in a man's own right. It is the action of a sovereign, and he is free, as has been finely said, "from the centre to the stars." The advantages, socially, morally, and economically, of such a position, we cannot in this brief space exhibit; and there is no occasion, for they are easily conceived. Were the Irish emigrant more systematically than he has been a settler upon land, he would have had a place in the social scale of this country more favorable to his better qualities than that which he has actually held. He would then have been a direct creator

of wealth. The agency which he has had in the national resources would have been more readily observed, and more distinctively acknowledged. The emigrant is, indeed, a creator of wealth in making a railroad, as well as in tilling a farm, but his agency is not so clearly discerned. But when a garden is made to bloom where only wild grass grew, then there can be no mistake. Rural settlement, too, would be generative of most extensive moral influence. There would, for instance, be the influence of *fixed* condition. Religious feeling and religious habits would exert their due power. The home-virtues of order, thrift, cleanliness, would be cultivated and matured. Education would do its work and have noticeable results. A fixed condition, besides its positively good influences, would save Irish emigrants from evil ones. Many of the temptations which beset the laboring Irish in this country belong to unsettled and undefined relations with society. Land would be a centre of steadiness. Land is the basis of all wealth; for it is the feeder of all life. The man who tills the soil which he fairly owns, cannot be poor if the soil gives any due return to his labor. Banks may break down, parties may prophesy ruin from opposite directions, storms of eloquence may rage, laws may be made and unmade; but so long as the rain cometh down from heaven, so long as the earth is properly solicited to give forth her increase, so long as the farmer is allowed quietness for his toil, he will have seed for the sower and bread for the eater. To the emigrant of some patience and a little means, there is land here open, — land as teeming with abundance as the sun ever warmed or as the rain ever watered. Here it is, in this mighty America, in its virgin freshness; it wooes the seeker by its freedom, and it waits for him with its bounty. Here it is, with its wide and sweeping verdure, lovely through its eternity of unused seasons. Here it is, with no despot or bailiff, — with no distraints, — no evictions, — free as the air that blows over it, and rich as the dew that falls upon it. Here it is, with its floor of mountains, plain, lake, and river, — with its roof of lucent sky, for the exile to find his home, and look up fearless to the stars.

There are, we know, practical difficulties in the way of settlement; but none, we trust, which practical knowledge may not remove. If wisdom and experience do not re-

move them, the power of necessity must. Emigration, on the scale to which it fast approaches, must take such shape and method as will compel isolated individualism to give place to associated order. It is not possible for persons going each for himself ever to possess or occupy the magnificent West; but numbers can do that in union, for which separately they have no power. Irish emigrants, like those of other nations, must colonize in bodies. The Germans, the Swedes, the Norwegians, come in bodies. This takes solitude from the wilderness, lays hold upon it in the strength and charity of mutual affection and companionship, plants at once upon it the living germs of society, and awakens it with the sacred voices of the temple and the home. Let it not be said that the Irish cannot do likewise, that they cannot travel together in agreement, or dwell together in unity.

In our closing reflections, we very briefly consider the emigrant as settled. And, writing in the spirit of the American mind, we attach not the idea of firm and decisive citizenship to the condition of casual, dependent, daily, and servile toil. The American mind cannot join the thought of a perpetual state of hire with a manly freedom. This is a source of much of its arrogance, scorn, intolerance, but it is also the source of its boldness, its elasticity, its self-resolve, and its self-reliance. The American accepts any work *for the time*, if it pays. He does it cheerfully, he does it manfully; but if it is at the bidding of another, he does not intend to do it always, or to do it long. The American journeyman intends to be an employer. The American clerk has it in his own mind, that in good time he will be a capitalist. The American laborer, working on another man's farm, solaces his fatigue by calculating how long it may cost him, if he likes the location, to buy the owner out. The American waiter, while handing round Madeira, resolves that, when *he* comes to give dinners, he will be generous in Champagne. Lord Jeffrey once observed, that, if a prize were offered for a new translation of the Greek Testament, some Yankee would begin the Greek alphabet, and win the prize, while critical scholars were resolving to set about it. Any man, therefore, who is satisfied with perpetual dependence, any man who is void of aspiration and incapable of effort, is not in harmony

with the spirit of American life, and with the genius of American society. We would not that a word which escapes us should seem to justify irritation with a man's honest condition; we would not that it should excite in him a reckless desire to change or quit it. The humblest task which keeps a man from want is not to be despised. It is not to be relinquished with haste, it is to be fulfilled with loyalty, and held with cautious patience. Adventure, speculation, eagerness for riches, repugnance to common toil, contempt for sober experience, faith in golden dreams, — these are among the most glaring faults of our age. Far be it from us to preach disturbing doctrines. We advocate, indeed, the sentiment of aspiration, but it is aspiration following its purpose with the constancy of Christian rectitude, and with the quiet of manly perseverance. That fixed occupation of the soil, which we would recommend; that trust in regular industry, which we would urge; that content in moderation, which we would desire for ourselves and others, — are not in unison with the passionate spirit of our day. They are, however, the only means of a true prosperity, and, with all earnestness, we would wish to see the Irish emigrant acting in the temper of our philosophy. It would be his most effectual guarantee against distress, it would be his most complete emancipation from hopeless and servile labor.

We do not overlook the trials which the emigrant must meet in any space that is free and open to him. His shanty will be bare and rough, but surely it can be hardly worse than that which a railroad laborer inhabits. His toil will be severe, it may be long, but the reward is noble, a settled and permanent independence. We look beyond a few years on the space where he has labored. We see no more the groundling log-hut. The wilderness has sprung into bloom. A comely dwelling is imbosomed amidst offices and orchards. A domain is conquered and possessed; crops and cattle, rich fields and full barns, evince the patient royalty of fortitude and toil. Here the needy friend may come without fear of trespass. Here the stranger may enter, and find no empty welcome. Here there is no terror of an approaching rent-day, for God alone is the landlord. God made the earth that so it may be used. Thus it is prepared

by man, and then it is a beautiful heritage for the children or the successors of him who thus prepares it. The barren place is made a garden. Children sport where the bison fed; herds of oxen fatten where deer had roamed; and the house-dog bays where wolves had howled. The man, come whence he may, who contributes to this work his share of thought and muscle, does much to make society his debtor. The fine action of genius is very pleasant, but the hard effort of labor must come first. The pioneer and the settler must be in advance of author and of artist. The sounds of music must come after the echoes of the axe; the painter must be in the wake of the hunter; the ploughman must be before the poet; and the hut must be the herald of the temple. H. G.

ART. V. — THE PROCESSION OF THE HOLY GHOST.

IN all departments of human thought and action there is, at the present day, an eager demand for what is practical, and in all departments the answer is given by the voice of experience, that what is theoretical is practical; and that the most certain method of attaining practical results is to develop perfectly theoretical knowledge. And in religion, while we steadfastly maintain that goodness of heart and righteousness of life are the principal marks and fruits of wisdom, we are not to forget that the contemplation of divine truth is necessary to make that truth affect our hearts and lives. The intellect has its claims, as well as the affections; and the heart cannot be satisfied with our religion, unless it has first satisfied the head.

There can be no questions more worthy of our attention than those which relate to the revelations which God has made of himself. The Unitarian body, dissenting from the views of those who believe in a Triune God, and agreeing in their worship of the Father as the one Supreme Being, have not stated very definitely their views concerning the Son and the Holy Spirit. This is especially true concerning the offices of the Spirit and

our relations to him. Yet the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is one of most intense interest to the Christian; and a discussion of it would throw much light on our views of the offices of Christ.

We propose, therefore, a brief discussion of a single point in this doctrine, namely, the procession of the Holy Ghost. The whole Christian Church, with inconsiderable exceptions, have declared the Spirit to proceed from the Father and Son. Unitarian writers have usually assumed the Spirit to proceed from the Father only. We are inclined to the opinion that it proceeds from the Father, through the Son.

The Father of our spirits doubtless moves upon our hearts himself, without the intervention of any agency. We ask the reader to bear this concession in remembrance. We do not deny that it is a doctrine both of Scripture and of reason, that God dwelleth in the heart of the humble, that the Father himself works within us to will and to do of his good pleasure.

But in addition to this there is a Holy Ghost promised to the disciples, and dependent on Jesus's leaving them. We are inclined to believe this influence is exerted by Jesus himself; coming from the Father through the Son; wrought by the power of the Father, but dependent on the will of the Son; exerted by Jesus at his own pleasure.

The first argument in favor of this view is, that it is Scriptural; that is, it explains better than either of the other two views many passages in the four Gospels, and the book of Acts, the fundamental Scriptures of our faith. We acknowledge that, if texts are considered weighty in proportion to their number, the Gospel of John will give the strongest proof of the doctrine. But if explicit statement is of value, then the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles are still stronger witnesses. And even in Matthew's Gospel, in which some affect to find such low views of the power and offices of Christ, we have several recognitions of this power of Jesus over the hearts of his disciples in all time. There is, for instance, the Baptist's annunciation that the Messiah should "baptize with the Holy Ghost." Again, there is Jesus's own saying, "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son shall reveal him." Still further, there is the instance of his reading Peter's thoughts concerning

the tribute-money, showing his power to enter other hearts at least as a witness, if not as a Redeemer. Finally, to omit those less explicit, we have the words with which the book closes: "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

Our Lord in his charge to his Apostles, as given by Matthew, bids them not to be troubled as to their defence, when called before magistrates, for the Holy Ghost should in that hour teach them what to say. But in the Gospel of Luke, this promise is reported in another form, very strongly corroborative of our view: "For *I* will give you a mouth and wisdom which all your adversaries will not be able to gainsay or resist." And in the same Gospel, we find Jesus distinctly claiming the power of sending the Spirit, saying, "Behold, I send the promise of my Father upon you."

When we turn to the Gospel of John, we find intimations of our doctrine in the earlier chapters, and in the seventh, this sentence: "The Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." This agrees perfectly with the words of our Lord: "If I go not away, the Comforter will not come; but if I go away, I will send him unto you." The fourteenth chapter is full of like sayings; for instance: "The Holy Ghost whom the Father will send in my name" (i. e. through me). "I will not leave you comfortless, I will come unto you." "He that keepeth my commandments shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself unto him." "If a man love me, he will keep my words, and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him, and make our abode with him." In the fifteenth chapter we find: "Abide in me, and I in you; without me ye can do nothing." "The Comforter, whom I will send unto you from the Father."

Each one of these passages is better interpreted by our doctrine than by any other, and the passage last quoted seems absolutely to require our belief in it. Add now the words of St. Peter, from the book of Acts: "This Jesus, being by the right hand of God exalted, and having received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost, hath shed forth this which ye now see and hear." Surely this is difficult to reconcile with either the doctrine of procession from the Father only, or that of procession from

the Father and the Son; while it exactly expresses that of procession from the Father through the Son.

And, finally, we appeal to the narrative of the conversion of Paul, as evidently implying that Jesus after his ascension continued his knowledge of men, his intercourse with them and appreciation of their individual character.

Having first, then, this strong argument for our doctrine, namely, that it is Scriptural, we pass to the second, that it is reasonable from *a priori* conceptions of the Messiah's office. If our help was laid upon him, and he undertook our salvation, it seems reasonable that he should be intrusted with power extending over a longer period than the few months or years of his public ministry. We can hardly conceive that God would give him the titles and dignity of the Messiah's office, and that he should be called the Saviour of men, the Prince of Life, the Head of the Church, and the like, if his power ceased with the day of his ascension. It were much more consonant with our ideas of the Head of the Church, and the Redeemer of men, to suppose that then his power truly began, and that, being "lifted up," he was endowed with power "to draw all men unto him."

The principal difficulty, we presume, in the way of making our doctrine seem reasonable, is, that it appears to give the Saviour omniscience and omnipresence, while he carefully denies his possession of these attributes. But does the power to read all human hearts, and move all human wills, does this imply omniscience and omnipresence? We think not. We think we can easily imagine that God should endow a finite spirit with this power. When we compare this little ball with the boundless universe, and our race with the innumerable tribes that people the countless worlds, we cannot feel that the guidance of the human family is a work demanding infinite attributes. The belief that our Saviour influences the hearts of his saints is not, then, inconsistent with our conceptions of finite powers. Indeed, our views of spiritual powers are not to be very strongly defined by the boundaries of space. Our present relations to space are certainly established through our bodily organs, and it is not offering any great violence to reason to suppose that, when a spirit has passed from the control of the

perishing organs of sense, it may have powers no longer limited to places. Time is more intimately connected with our spirits, so that it is impossible, we think, without casting away reason, to suppose a finite spirit unlimited by time. Thus the French satirist, by the intuitive judgment of genius, makes the existence of his devils seem natural, by admitting for them an omniscience in regard to the present and past, which implies a spiritual omnipresence in space, but denying to them prescience, which would imply omnipresence in time.

When we have, therefore, drawn from the Scriptures the doctrine of the supremacy of the Father, — nay, even if we have drawn from them the doctrine of the simple human nature of the Son, — it would be very rash to draw thence the inference that now, in his ascended state of exaltation, Jesus has not power to fulfil his office of Redeemer, and his promise of being with us always, even unto the end of the world.

A third train of thought leading to our principal view arises from the longing of the human heart after sympathy, after communion with other beings. Not that we want any other God than the Father of infinite mercies; nor that we ask to offer prayers to any other being than to the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom the Apostles bowed the knee. But when we have read in the Gospels the story of our Lord, when we have studied his character, trusted in his promises, and found peace and joy in believing, then we love him, and cannot but hope that he knows us and loves us. Our hearts long for a closer personal connection with our Saviour than that implied by the mere fact that he left precepts and example for us two thousand years ago. We long for a present communion; for an assurance that he is a High-Priest living and making atonement for us now, seconding our prayers, rebuking our sins, strengthening our good purposes, and drawing us unto the Father. We want a closer personal tie, we want to call him ours; our Saviour, our Lord, our Sanctifier, our Comforter, our Advocate. So real is this longing for sympathy in the human soul, that it has led the Church to believe in the omnipresence of Jesus, and to pray to him in violation of the plainest commands of his religion. It has also led to the invocation of saints, and to a very wide-

spread belief in the ministry of departed spirits to their living friends. This latter belief finds its way among the most rationalistic sects. Now it appears probable that, if the Scripture gives so much countenance to the doctrine of Jesus's perpetual ministry, a doctrine which the loving heart is so ready to embrace, it must have been intended by Providence that we should believe it. Else it would seem that Providence had made the Scriptures lead into error.

These desires of the heart for personal friendship with Jesus shall surely one day be gratified. If through the mercy of God we pass from the mists of earth into the light and glory of the heavenly Zion, we shall meet there the general assembly of the first-born, and be welcomed by friends who have known us on earth; we shall also meet Jesus, the Mediator of the new covenant, and find in him one who has known us and named us as his, and sealed us with his seal.

And may not these longings be gratified now? We need not take the view held by orthodox sects, but which seems to us repugnant to all Scripture, ascribing to the Son equally with the Father the oversight of men, and the outpouring of the Spirit. God is ever present and acting in our inmost souls, and we have no proof that our Lord is continually and each moment present with us. But the Scriptures seem to us, in the passages to which we have alluded, to assert that Jesus exerts some power over us, and that he takes each believer personally under his care. They say in effect, This Jesus, whose life on earth was so lovely, and whose spoken words, even in the written records, have had the power to reconcile you to God, this Jesus, being dead, yet liveth. You cannot see him, you cannot speak to him, you are to pray to God alone; but your Lord sees you, you know not how often; he moves upon your heart, helps you to pray, inclines you to act, and fills your soul with the peace of heaven. The Father quickeneth whom he will, moving in all hearts and at all times, giving life to all; and he hath given unto the Son to have life in himself and to quicken whom he will.

We shall point out only one other train of thought leading to this doctrine of the procession of the Spirit from the Father through the Son.

The increasing science of the age, exalting our conceptions of the Infinite Father, makes it more and more difficult for us to resist the impression of awe that we feel in approaching his presence. The telescope, reaching out into infinite space, tells of his infinite greatness, the boundless extent of his works. The microscope, piercing almost into atomic structure, tells of his actual presence, in all his attributes of wisdom, love, and power, at each point of all illimitable space. We know, then, that he is near us, within us, upholding our being by his present will. Yet how difficult for us to prevent these overwhelming thoughts from paralyzing every emotion of tenderness towards him. They do not make us doubt his being or his love; nay, Science brings her absolute demonstrations of the existence of a personal God, a being of unbounded love and wisdom and power. She causes us, therefore, to adore and give thanks; but it is with a hushed and solemn awe, that suspends the very emotions which it demands in us.

Revelation offers to us another and a dearer view of God. She, like her sister Science, tells us of an Infinite Being. But she shows him in human form. She announces his love and mercy in human language, and gives us the person and the life of a Son of man, as the express image of God. She presents us, not with the Lord God of Hosts, ruling and governing all created things, but with God in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, and calling rebellious, wandering children to their home of glory.

Taking thus Revelation in contrast with Science, and seeing how it offers a human mediator, through whom we may gain a better knowledge of the Creator, as the Redeemer of men, it seems reasonable, *a priori*, to expect in Revelation as perpetual a testimony to God as we find in creation.

We believe that expectation is just, and that Jesus offered a mediation, not for a few months in Judea, but in all time and in all places, and that to one who is willing to be guided by him he is continually showing the Father, repeating in our hearts the assurances of God's readiness to forgive and sanctify the penitent.

We promised to close without arguing the point further, but we may hint at one other confirmation of our

views, found in the constant association, as far as our observation goes, of the most truly Christian characters with the most truly personal attachment to Christ.

We have presented these views because we have felt deeply interested in them, and grateful to the friends by whom they were presented to us. But we are by no means so positive of their truth as we are of many other points in our creed. The phrase Holy Spirit is doubtless used in the Gospels to signify an influence from God the Father. Nay, in some passages it may not even refer to any direct personal action upon us, but may refer to influences of the truth, or influences of natural objects. So Paul uses the phrase "spirit of Christ" in at least one passage, to mean simply a state of heart like that of Christ. But we have labored to show, and we think with some success, that the words "Holy Ghost" in the Gospels and Acts, and perhaps therefore in the Epistles, do sometimes signify an influence exerted by our Lord Jesus, consciously, designedly, of his own will, and by the power which God gave him, upon the hearts and minds of men in all ages; and that this is one of the means by which he becomes the Saviour of sinners, the Redeemer of souls. T. H.

Art. VI. — JUVENILE DEPRAVITY AND REFORMATORY SCHOOLS.*

The two volumes whose titles are given below are thorough and elaborate works upon the subject of which they treat. They are evidently the fruit of great labor and practical thought, containing valuable statistics, carefully selected, and interspersed with graphic descriptions of the actual condition of society, and with clear statements of what should be done to remedy existing evil. The Essay

* 1. *Reformatory Schools for the Children of the Perishing and Dangerous Classes, and for Juvenile Offenders.* By Mary Carpenter. London. 1851. 8vo. pp. 353.

2. *Juvenile Depravity.* £100 *Prize Essay.* By Rev. Henry Worsley, M. A., late Michel Scholar of Queen's College, Oxford, Rector of Easton, Suffolk. London. 1849. 8vo. pp. 275.

by Rev. Henry Worsley is direct and manly, strong without exaggeration, concise and forcible in its reasoning, and leaves upon the mind a powerful impression. The work first named is by the daughter of the late Rev. Dr. Lant Carpenter of Bristol, whose spirit of devotion and benevolence seems to have descended in a large measure upon those who bear his name. Miss Carpenter is already widely and favorably known on this side of the ocean. Her "Meditations for Morning and Evening" have aided many in spiritual thought; and her "Memoir of Dr. Tuckerman" is a beautiful and just tribute to the memory of that good man.

The volume before us contains a great amount of information, and is admirably adapted to accomplish the object for which it was written. It presents a vivid picture of the real condition and character of the children who are specially exposed to degradation, and who ought to be rescued. It shows the necessity of applying a system of sound moral and religious training, and then proceeds to consider the principles on which all schools established for such purposes should be conducted. Both volumes clearly prove that juvenile delinquency and depravity exist to a fearful extent in England.

Mr. Worsley presents the proportion of juvenile crime in the commercial, manufacturing, and agricultural counties, and the relative proportion in rural districts and thickly populated towns and cities. The statistics in both volumes show a rapid increase of evil, but statistics may at times, like other things, be deceptive. There may be an apparent increase, when it is simply owing to the fact that more crimes are brought to light, through the superior organization of the police and the more rigid enforcement of law. Still, there is a strong impression on the part of those who should know best, that the growth of evil in England has been "in an immensely larger ratio than the increase of population." Crime is always found to be more abundant in proportion to the density of the population, and therefore exists in more cases and forms in manufacturing and commercial districts, and in large cities. The very presence of evil is demoralizing, and in those places where the degraded congregate in swarming activity, pinched in their poverty, reckless in their passions, without any

moral restraint, — who does not see that, in such an atmosphere, there will naturally be precociousness in crime?

Mr. Worsley maintains that much harm has arisen from the consolidation of wealth. In 1770 the lands of England were divided among no fewer than 250,000 families; but at the close of the revolutionary war, in 1815, they were found to be concentrated in the hands of only 32,000. Property is gathered into large masses. The landed proprietor and the tradesman of small capital are obliged to labor at a ruinous disadvantage. All classes, he affirms, are dividing in that country into the indigent and the opulent. The chasm between the rich and the poor is constantly widening. The laborer's hope of rising there is a forlorn one. There is no graduated ascent, up which the hardy aspirant may toil, step by step, with patient drudgery, several rounds in the ladder having been broken away.

Much has been done in England of late years to benefit the people, by schools and lectures and libraries and institutes, but the conclusion seems to be, among those who have watched the results, that, while the higher and middle classes have been socially elevated, on the other hand, the lower orders have fallen into a more degraded state than at any former period. This class has not been reached by these agencies. There is a stratum lower down which has not been penetrated, and yet upon this basis does the whole fabric of society, in a measure, rest. In London there are at this moment, without any education whatever except what comes from scenes of vice and pollution, more than 100,000 children. In Spitalfields and Bethnal Green, out of a population of 112,000, it has been ascertained, by examination from house to house, that 16,000 children are without any instruction, many of them dwelling in neighborhoods and abodes which are the resort of the most abandoned characters. Lord Ashley, in a late debate in the House of Commons, after glancing at the actual condition of the more destitute classes, said: "The danger grows wider, deeper, fiercer. No one who has heard these statements, and believes them, can hope that twenty years more can pass without some mighty convulsion, some displacement of the whole system of society." Powerful and prosperous as that nation is, it is

sad to think how large a portion of her people are left to starve and to sin. In the midst of civilization they remain uncivilized, barbarian in thought and habit, pitiable and perishing, or daring and dangerous, and in either case miserable outcasts among men. Abandoned to such wretchedness, they feel that they are degraded and wronged, and often with vindictive passion become the worst foes of society. Even in the attempt to do good among them, we see manifested, particularly in the earlier efforts, — the repulsive character of the population. One report says, "The children behaved more like savages than civilized beings, and were as ignorant of God or the Saviour as heathens." The number of applicants at the London Mendicity Society in one month was 22,296. And the Criminal Reports show that the amount of juvenile crime is enormous. The largest number of offenders throughout England and Wales are recorded as being between the ages of fifteen and twenty. And not only does the preponderance of crime lie within that period, but there is found also to be a progressive increase, taking five and ten years together, among those under twenty years of age. It is evident, from an examination of the statements, that there is an almost incredible amount of juvenile ignorance and crime. The proceedings of courts of law, the reports of the metropolitan police, are constantly bringing forward the fearful results of such a condition of society. And the longer the young are neglected, the more deep-rooted and widespread must become the evil that is deplored. Visit the haunts of the destitute, and watch the influences to which children are hourly exposed, and we shall wonder no longer that they grow up degraded themselves, and that they spread a moral infection among others.

"There is not one of these," says Dickens, with eloquent indignation, — "not one, — but sows a harvest that mankind MUST reap. From every seed of evil in the child a field of ruin is grown that shall be gathered in and garnered up and sown again in many places in the world, until regions are overspread with wickedness enough to raise the waters of another deluge. Open and unpunished murder in a city's streets would be less guilty in its daily toleration, than such a spectacle as this. There is not a father, by whose side in his daily or his nightly walk these creatures pass; there is not a mother among all the ranks of loving

mothers in the land; there is no one risen from the state of childhood, but shall be responsible in his or her degree for this enormity. There is not a country throughout the earth on which it would not bring a curse. There is no religion on earth that it would not deny. There is no people upon earth it would not put to shame."

These sentiments will find a response in the minds of those who are familiar with the condition of the class of children to whom reference is made. Left as they are, a life of crime becomes inevitable. It is a duty that society owes both to them and to itself to do whatever may be possible to rescue them; to inquire into the process by which the child is transformed into the criminal, not to wait until the sturdy criminal has become fully ripened, and then hope to convict and punish, or even to reform him. How much wiser to remove the causes which excite to evil, and not to be satisfied with mere palliatives, but with Christian benevolence to put in operation means by which the young, if possible, may be trained into excellence instead of vice.

Miss Carpenter, after speaking of the increase of juvenile delinquency, and showing the extreme ignorance that abounds, proceeds to dwell upon the necessity of a system of sound moral and religious training, and of remembering that there are depths of society which no ordinary measures will reach, — that there are classes who will not seek instruction even near at their hand, but need to be sought out and actively reclaimed. She then dwells upon Reformatory Schools, and the various subdivisions of the classes for which they are intended. She does not include those who have already subjected themselves to the grasp of the law; — these are considered in an after part of her book as subjects for penal institutions. The Reformatory Schools are for those children who are unable to receive instruction in existing schools, and who, without instruction gratuitously given, must grow up utterly destitute of it, and probably become a burden to the state, either as paupers or criminals.

First are the children of those parents who are prevented by extreme poverty from sending their children to school, but who yet desire education for them; their poverty being the result either of unavoidable circumstances or of vicious habits.

Then come the offspring of parents low and ignorant, who are perfectly careless about the spiritual welfare of their children, and who heed not even their physical condition, except so far as necessity compels them. Another, and, as the writer states, an entirely separate class, is formed by the Irish population, with whom the seaport towns especially abound, possessing distinctive peculiarities, both in habit and character. After dwelling more in detail upon these three classes, she says that for them "Free Day Schools" will be found most valuable. But these are unavailable to those children who are homeless and friendless, — for these what are called the "Ragged Schools," and Industrial, or, as they are termed, "Feeding Industrial Schools," are needed. These are each considered at length through succeeding chapters.

Miss Carpenter maintains that all who, from inability or from vicious inclination, will not attend the "Free Day School," should be *compelled* to go to one of the others just named. Then follows a statement of the general principles which should be pursued as essential to success. First, there must be faith in the powers of the soul and the moral government of God, and a conviction that each one of these poor, perishing creatures is of inexpressible value in the sight of God. Secondly, love should be the ruling sentiment, — a love as wise as it is kind. These she holds to be the fundamental principles, and that they should be united with a careful study of the laws of the nature, both spiritual and physical, of the human being.

Industrial training should form a part of all such schools, and the infusion of a moral tone, based on a sense of duty to God, should be the great object to which all others should be subordinate. The general discipline to be pursued is fully treated, not in the language, as is very evident, of mere theory, but of experience.

It is worthy of note, that the children spoken of are described as having inherited a degraded physical as well as mental condition, induced by the vices of the parents. "Many of the children of the criminal class," says one who has had excellent opportunity of observation, "are laboring under bodily injuries; most of them are old before they are young; they look haggard, pale, and

emaciated." "About half a dozen boys," says Lord Ashley, "who were selected from one of the Ragged Schools to be examined by the surgeon of one of her Majesty's receiving ships at Portsmouth, were all rejected, as being physically disqualified for a sailor's life." Other testimony of a similar character might be cited. Excellent suggestions follow in reference to religious and moral training, discriminating between mere verbal information and that living truth which shall engage the affections and influence the conduct.

The author next proceeds to give an account of what are known as the "Ragged Schools," describing their objects, their working, and the principles by which they should be guided, pointing out the errors into which they have fallen and the dangers to which they are exposed, exhibiting some of the good results which have arisen from them, and showing what they can do and what is beyond their power.

She speaks of this as "the only organized movement that has been made in the present century to carry education to the lowest depths of society, to seek out in their hiding-places the most wretched and deserted children, to shed over them the light of Christianity, and thus, if possible, to raise them from their hopeless condition." Robert Raikes, the founder of Sunday Schools, and the now famous John Pounds, the shoemaker of Portsmouth, are associated with this movement. Theirs was the individual beginning of what has led to vast organizations. There are now in London alone at least 20,000 children of the very lowest class gathered into these schools, the increase in four years being over 15,000.

To give an idea of these schools, we make the following extract from another work.

"The pauper children assembled in Norwood, from the garrets, cellars, and wretched rooms of alleys and courts in the dense parts of London, are often sent thither in a low state of destitution, covered with rags and vermin, often the victims of chronic disease, almost universally stunted in their growth, and sometimes emaciated with want. The low-browed and inexpressive physiognomy, or malign aspect of the boys, is a true index of the mental darkness, the stubborn tempers, the hopeless spirits, and the vicious habits on which the master has to work."

There are no doubt many exceptions to this, as to every other rule, and we can imagine here and there children of noble aspect, and with the finest traits of character. But as a class we presume vice has left its trace upon them even at an early age, and that they suffer also through organic laws for the sins of their parents. Still, while they have an aptitude for lessons of crime, there is no one of them so wretched that he may not acquire a higher knowledge. And certainly nothing can be more honorable than that Christian benevolence which has labored so devotedly in their behalf. Well does Miss Carpenter say, "The enterprise was prompted by religious faith and love; it has made discoveries of waste places of the earth, which none but a Christian would have had courage to penetrate, and has awakened public attention to a work which is of God, and cannot come to naught."

These schools were at first held only in the evening, once, and in some cases, twice, in the week; but it soon became evident that the instructions given in so brief a time could do little for those whose daily life was wild and reckless, and who were subject at all other seasons to demoralizing influences. This led to the establishment of Day Schools. A detailed account is given of both these schools, together with suggestions and rules which must be of great value to all teachers engaged in this philanthropic work. The evening schools are said to be open to many evils, unless conducted with considerable caution, which we can readily imagine, and both schools, it should be remembered, are for children utterly unprovided for by other institutions.

Miss Carpenter then gives an account of what are termed "Industrial Feeding Schools," for a class below that which the "Ragged School" can reach. Then follow two chapters, one on Jails, and the last on Penal Reformatory Schools. The whole work is eminently practical, full of valuable information, and breathes throughout a most elevated Christian spirit.

Both volumes under consideration give an impressive picture of the actual condition of the more destitute classes in England, and awaken the conviction that this portion of society is far more extensive, and in a much more deplorable state, in that country than in our own.

Still, there is also much between us in common, and in as far as such a population exists at all, and is liable to increase in the future, we should anxiously look with the philanthropists of England for the causes of the evil, and seek with them to make a wise use of the best remedies.

Our own system of Free Schools stands out in striking contrast with the provision made for popular education in the Old World. And when we remember the number and character of our free schools, thrown open without distinction to the whole people, — when we know that this system has been improving form year to year, — that the amount of money raised by taxation in this Commonwealth has increased threefold within fourteen years, being the last year upwards of $ 915,000, a gain of more than half a million, — that in the same period there has been an increase of more than a thousand schools, with an addition of 2,733 teachers, — and that there are no less than 200,000 children that improve these privileges, — we are forced to feel that honorable means for public instruction have been provided by the State. When we know that in the city of Boston alone, between 20,000 and 30,000 children attend the public schools, in addition to 2,000 others, who attend private seminaries, we cannot but feel thankful that we live in a community in which the young are looked upon with such wise solicitude, and where they are so ready to reap the advantages they enjoy. Still, all this should not blind us to painful realities.

From a late School Report we extract the following: —

"Does the instruction provided by the city reach all those persons for whom it is intended? This question suggests itself to every one who observes the apparently great number of children at large, in school-hours, in almost every part of the city. It is not difficult to find out what are the occupations of many of these children. They are hawkers of papers, or sellers of matches, — most of the time occupied in quarrelling and gambling. They are beggars, male and female; strolling from street to street, through lanes, highways, and alleys, practising the elementary lessons of pilfering, lying, deception, and theft. They may be seen wherever wooden structures are in the process of building, repairing, or tearing down, seeking for frag-

ments of wood, to which they evidently feel they have a very questionable right. They are the loafers on wharves, and in all the modes of juvenile vice. Are these children in the way to become useful citizens? Are they not in a course of education for worthlessness and crime?"

Let us turn from this to the records of the courts of justice and the reports of the police.

It has been officially stated that there are upwards of eight hundred boys in Boston, connected with the Grammar Schools alone, whose names are on the police lists as truants or vagrants.

A late Report of the Grand Jury says: "The jury have been pained to see the large number of minors (frequently amounting to more than half the cases), who are brought before them generally for larcenies."

It is stated by Beaumont and De Tocqueville, in their report upon the penitentiary system of our country, that of all the convicts in the United States, one in every ten is under the age of twenty years.

From the City Marshal's Report we take the following:—

"Allow me to renew my appeal in regard to the young in this city, and to the large and increasing number of poor and destitute children of both sexes, who are growing up in vice and crime. In an investigation made to ascertain the number thus exposed,— between the ages of six and sixteen, one thousand and sixty-four were found, 882 males, 182 females." "My opinion is," says the Report, "that, of the whole number, from eight to nine hundred (from neglect and bad habits) are not fit to enter any of our present schools. From the best information which I can obtain, I am satisfied that the whole number in the city at the present time (including the above number) is not less than 1,500 of the same class as those described."

And he adds:—

"I earnestly call your attention to them, and the necessity of providing some means to have these children properly brought up, either at public or private expense; for I am satisfied that it will cost the State and the city more for police, courts, and prisons, if they are suffered to go at large, than it would to take them now, maintain them, and make them useful citizens."

No one, we presume, will be insensible to the startling character of these facts, and the justice of the conclu-

sions. Every such child as is here alluded to is a plea for extended Christian effort.

Our public school system is accomplishing incalculable good, — but here we see a class springing up among us who come not under its influence. It is the beginning of the state of things which exists on a large scale in the Old World. And why should it not be so, for it is the Old World transported to the New. The most ignorant and debased are yearly shipped by thousands and by hundreds of thousands to our shores.

In 1850 over 30,000 alien passengers arrived at the ports of Massachusetts, and an attempt was made to land persons discharged from British convict hulks lying at Bermuda. In Boston there have landed in three years about 90,000 emigrants, and in New York, during the same period, more than 600,000. Thus the flood-gates are open. And what is the result? The squalid and vicious who a short time since infested the lanes of London and Liverpool are at our side. Many of our streets wear a foreign aspect. Two thirds of the State paupers are from abroad. In the House of Industry sixty-five per cent. are foreigners, and in the Lunatic Asylum one half of the subjects are from England and Ireland. In the State Prison at Charlestown, out of 2,477 convicts, 1,657, more than two to one, were aliens. And in the Police Report for Boston, dated January, 1852, out of 1,500 dram-shops, 1,010 are kept by the natives of other lands.*

These facts are stated simply as showing that impor-

* In a valuable pamphlet lately published by Rev. E. E. Hale, on the subject of Irish Emigration, it is stated that from 1841 to 1850 inclusive, the British emigration to America included 1,522,600 persons, of whom 1,300,000 were Irish. The last year there were more than 300,000 in addition, and this year there is every reason to expect as large a number.

At the port of New York there arrived, —

	From Great Britain.	*From other Countries.*	*Total.*
1848	128,592	60,584	189,176
1849	152,199	68,404	220,603
1850	153,493	59,303	212,796
1851	198,300	91,301	289,601

Making an arrival in four years, at one port, of over nine hundred thousand.

"This transfer of immense bodies of people," says the writer, "from one climate, government, and state of society to another wholly different, is the most remarkable social phenomenon of our time, and that which requires most the attention of government and of men of philanthropy."

tant changes are taking place in our country. New elements are being infused, and it becomes an imperative duty, if only as a means of safety, to ask what measures are most useful to check the growth of juvenile delinquency and crime. The emigration that is sweeping in is made up in no small degree of a class addicted to beggary and profligacy. Search out their homes, and if you find cheerlessness and discomfort, ignorance and wretchedness, there, you will see children ripening daily into habits of evil, and driven into sin as by dire necessity. We should encourage to the utmost every means by which the mind may be enlightened and habits of honest industry and self-respect may be formed. There should be a power by which children found in the streets, wasting their time in idleness, and exposed to trying temptation, should be subject to the charge of the police, and taken from the presence of contaminating influences, and brought under the enjoyment of privileges provided, as they have been for the express purpose, by the State. Why should children be left to grow up for the prison and the gallows, when they might be trained to usefulness and honor? Has the State no right to protect itself?

But there are important agencies at work in addition to our public Grammar, Primary, and Intermediate Schools, forming in themselves a most perfect system. We have our Sabbath Schools scattered along every walk of society, into which are gathered alike the children of the rich and the poor, exerting far and wide an incalculable influence. Sewing Schools have also been extensively opened, to supply, in a measure, the entire, and we may say culpable, neglect of this important branch of instruction in our public schools. The Ministry at Large also is exerting most beneficial effects, by its constant visits, by its schools, libraries, and other ministrations. Children are sought out and gathered into safe folds, some from gross neglect, and some from cruel abuse, and many from the midst of dissoluteness and misery. Kindred to this is the "Children's Mission," one of the most beautiful charities which we have among us. It is supported by the children of various religious societies, and enables agents or missionaries in their name to devote their whole time to benefiting the children

of the poor, gathering them into schools, and finding employment for them in good situations both in city and country. The "Farm School" has proved one of the best institutions we have, and has been an asylum and home to many children who would otherwise have been exposed to every temptation. This institution is open to children before they have taken the first step on the domain of the criminal law. It is for the protection, instruction, and employment of indigent boys, who either from the loss of parents or from other causes are now not only sunk in poverty, but are exposed to scenes of depravity and vice. Before any overt criminal act, children can be placed here. This institution suggested, no doubt, the State Reform School, designed for nearly the same purpose, though embracing children from all parts of the Commonwealth, and being under the care of the State. This noble charity was commenced by the Hon. Theodore Lyman, who had been for some years the efficient President of the Farm School, and desired to see the same idea carried out on a larger scale. He therefore made the munificent offer to the State of $10,000, adding afterwards another $10,000, on condition that the State should advance the same amount, withholding his name during his life, and at his death bequeathing the additional sum of $50,000, that neglected, wayward, and wandering children might be properly instructed and reformed, and sent forth as industrious, useful, and virtuous citizens. Of all the institutions sustained in full or in part from the public treasury, none is more important or useful than this. It has been open since December, 1848, and has now under its charge 300 boys.

Mr. Lyman, to whose great generosity this institution is so largely indebted, says: —

"I have seen enough of the poor and desolate to be long ago convinced, that many of the persons that go to jails, houses of correction, and state prisons, are originally led there in consequence of the ignorance, or the poverty, or the neglect, or the dissolute habits of the parents, or from the want of proper guardians in their youth; in other words, from being exposed in some way to a temptation that they had either not knowledge enough or resolution enough to resist. How, then, shall we diminish crime? The process seems to be at least a double one. First,

to diminish as much as possible in a community temptation to vice; and, secondly, to withdraw as soon as possible from a course of vice those that are unable to resist the temptation to it. The first object can only be accomplished by improving the general condition of society, and for the second we must look, I think, in a considerable degree, to institutions like the school at Westborough."

"In this institution," justly says Mr. Washburn, in his Dedicatory Address, "the State is presented in her true relation, of a parent seeking out her erring children and laying aside the stern severity of justice while struggling for their reform."

There were before private institutions and establishments connected with cities, but it is believed that this noble enterprise was the first in our country in which a State, "in the character of a common parent, has undertaken the high and sacred duty of rescuing and restoring her lost children, not so much by the terrors of the law, as by the gentler influence of the schools."

Thus do we find that the children of the destitute are not wholly forgotten, and we feel confident that the spirit which has so largely characterized us will continue to abide with us, and carry out to their legitimate end these and other means for good. The most that is needed to keep alive the right feeling is the knowledge of facts, and especially that experience which comes from personal observation. Much of this may and should be derived from individual effort and inquiry. Leaving at times the broad and bright pathway, and seeking the narrow and obscure lane, entering the darkened and dingy dwelling, and becoming acquainted with the different phases of society, witnessing the temptations and miseries to which many are subjected, and seeing the young as they pass through this fearful ordeal, — who, seeing and knowing what would thus be forced upon the mind, could refrain from doing what he might to remedy such evil? In the way of united action, the "Provident Associations" lately put in operation in Boston and New York are calculated to do much in this way. They are intended to systematize the distribution of charity, to prevent imposition, and to elevate the condition of the poor. To effect this the city is divided into *districts*, which are subdivided into *sections*. Each district has its committee, and each section its visitor. Without going into further

detail, it will at once be seen that by such an arrangement, if the idea is faithfully carried out, the whole city is under searching supervision. There cannot be a place so obscure as to remain unknown. The condition of the degraded and wretched is brought to light, and in proportion as these visitors are discriminating and faithful, every family will become known, and the condition of every child be clearly understood. The names of the most intelligent and efficient of our citizens have become enrolled in these associations, and they have undertaken the duty appointed. We believe that this may be made one of the most useful movements ever started among us, but that must of course depend upon the fidelity of the individual members. Such a system can only be carried out by unwearied effort, self-denial, untiring zeal, wise judgment, and Christian faith. With these it will be instrumental of vast good, and in connection with other agencies, some of which we have named, it will tend, not only to give a truer direction in the distribution of charities, but to make the condition of the poor more adequately known, and in that same proportion to the adoption of such measures as will check juvenile delinquency and vice.

"It should ever be borne in mind," says Dr. Arnold,* "that history looks generally at the political state of a nation; its social state, *which is infinitely more important, and in which lie the seeds of all the greatest revolutions*, is too commonly neglected or unknown." Whatever gives us a clearer knowledge of this social state, including necessarily the most degraded portion of the population, is of value, especially if it shall lead to such action as shall remove the sources of evil, and offer to the young a fair opportunity of acquiring an honest livelihood, and building up a just and honorable character.

R. C. W.

* History of Rome, Vol. III. p. 34.

Art. VII. — THE REV. WILLIAM WARE.

The decease of this honored and cherished friend has called forth such tributes as his character and his professional and literary services so eminently deserved. We have received from one whose relations to the departed give earnestness to his words, the memorial which we subjoin, having prefixed to it a slight biographical sketch.

William Ware was born at Hingham, Mass., August 3d, 1797. His father, the Rev. Henry Ware, D. D., was at that time the minister of the religious society of that place, and his mother, Mary Clark, was the daughter of the Rev. Jonas Clark of Lexington. Dr. Ware, being chosen in the year 1805 to the chair of the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, in Harvard College, removed to Cambridge. The subject of this notice was fitted for College, partly in Cambridge, under the care of his cousin, the Hon. Ashur Ware, now Judge of the District Court of the United States for the District of Maine, and partly under that of the Rev. Dr. Allyne of Duxbury, and his family. He entered college in 1812, and was graduated, in regular course, in 1816.

Upon leaving college he returned to his native town, and there passed the next year, as an assistant in the school kept by the Rev. Henry Colman, Dr. Ware's successor in the ministry in that place. An inmate of Mr. Colman's family, he commenced, under his guidance, the study of theology, to which he had determined to devote himself. On leaving Hingham, he returned to Cambridge, and there spent the next three years in the study of his profession. During a part of this time, he taught the town school in Cambridge; and was subsequently, for some time, employed in the College Library as an assistant to Mr. Norton, who was then the Librarian. Having completed his preparatory studies, in the year 1820 he entered upon the active duties of his profession, preaching first at Northborough. From this time he was constantly and entirely absorbed in the labors of his calling, preaching in many places, principally, however, in Brooklyn, Conn., in Burlington, Vermont, and in the city of New York. From the two last named places he received, at the same time, invitations to remain,

and, accepting the call from New York, he was ordained over the First Congregational Church in that city (then worshipping in Chambers Street), on the 18th of December, 1821. In 1823, he was married to Mary, daughter of Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, of Cambridge. From this time he remained in New York, engaged in the arduous duties of his calling, much of the time (previous to the formation of the Second Church) standing entirely alone and unassisted, thus being obliged to devote all his energies to the faithful performance of these duties.

In March, 1836, he commenced in the Knickerbocker Magazine the publication of the "Letters from Palmyra," now better known under its present title, "Zenobia." In October of the same year he resigned his charge, and removed to Brookline, Mass., where he passed the ensuing winter, engaged in preaching and in completing the work just mentioned, which was published, in two volumes, in July, 1837. Having received an invitation from the Second Congregational Church in Waltham to supply their pulpit, he accepted the invitation, and in June of the same year removed there. He resided in this place until April, 1838, when the society was united to the older church in that place, then under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Samuel Ripley. Mr. Ware then removed to Jamaica Plain, where he had bought a place which afforded the opportunity of indulging a taste for rural life and occupations, which he had long desired. Though no longer connected with any religious society, he still continued to preach; occupying his time partly in the cultivation of his little farm, and partly in writing the sequel to Zenobia (now known as "Aurelian"), which was published, under the title of "Probus," in June, 1838. It was about this time that Mr. Ware became the proprietor and editor of the Christian Examiner, which remained in his hands till 1844. In July, 1839, he removed to Cambridge, and was for some time engaged in the conduct of this journal, and in the preparation of a new work of fiction, a part of which appeared in our pages, and was published, under the title of "Julian: or Scenes in Judea," in two volumes, in October, 1841.

In January, 1844, having terminated his connection with the Examiner, Mr. Ware received and accepted a call from the Unitarian Society in West Cambridge to

become their pastor, removing there immediately. Hoping to remain here long, he built a cottage on the banks of the beautiful Menotomy Pond; but shortly after taking possession of his new residence, in November of the same year, he received the first stroke of the disease which finally terminated his life. Recovering, however, from this attack, he continued to perform the duties of his office until July following, when a second attack of the disease, which now proved to be epilepsy, warned him to abandon a position which he felt demanded the whole power of a whole man. He returned to Cambridge in November, 1845, where he resided for the remainder of his life. Regaining his health, to some extent, he engaged, in 1847, in the Ministry at Large in this city, and devoted to this work about a year, when he carried into effect a long cherished plan of visiting Europe, sailing for Leghorn in April, 1848. He passed a little more than a year abroad, spending most of his time in Italy, and chiefly in Florence and Rome, to which, as a student of antiquity and an enthusiastic lover of art, he was especially attracted. From the many letters written by him while abroad, he prepared, after his return, a course of lectures on the cities and the Art that he had seen, which he delivered in Boston, New York, and many other places, in the winter of 1850. These lectures he subsequently published in a single volume, in 1851, under the title of "Sketches of European Capitals." Though somewhat improved in health by his travels, he was yet subject to frequent attacks of the disease which had fastened upon him. But still, as ever, anxious to be occupied in something, he had passed the last summer in the preparation of a course of lectures on the "Works and Genius of Washington Allston." Having completed this undertaking, he was making arrangements for delivering them in this city, when he was seized for the last time by the disease which for years had followed him, on the 10th of February last. He lingered, in a state of unconsciousness, until the 19th, when he died.

Besides the contributions of Mr. Ware to the pages of this work while he was its editor, he wrote occasionally for other periodicals; having, in 1827, edited "The Unitarian," a small periodical published in New York, and devoted to the statement, explanation, and defence

of the principles of Unitarian Christianity. He was also, for many years, a frequent contributor to the columns of the Christian Register. EDS.

When a friend has gone, after spending days with us, it is natural to *speak* of him; we strive to prolong his presence with us; it is pleasant to think, and to *say*, how good, how noble, how delicate and disinterested, or how tender and true, he was. "Pleasing and *mournful*," alas! when that parting is through the gate that closes upon all earthly intercourse; but it is not *all* gloom. We stand, indeed, in the dim and sad twilight, — thinking of the bright day that has gone down; but the starry realms spread before us, and open to us sublimer visions. The shadow of death is around us, but it reveals to us more than the splendors of noontide life.

It is with sadness that we write in this obituary record the name of William Ware! Who ever saw the name of a friend placed there, without a pang, peculiar and distinct from all others, — as if a new and dread seal were set upon the awfulness of death, — or as if the event were too sacred to pass from the hushed privacy and keeping of private grief, into the common form of public record. But sadness must not be our only feeling when we think of him, whose name we put to-day in the solemn roll of noble and excellent men. We will not wrong him so much, as to do nothing but grieve for him. He has lived an honored life. He has inherited and transmitted an honored name, — honored in his person, among our churches, and in the literature of his country, and more than honored in every private relation. His, too, was the great, strong, heart-wrought, Christian faith of immortality; and we would make it ours.

We do not wish to speak of him in any strain of studied eulogy. We are not anxious to praise him, — there is no need. To his life, to his works, to the memory of all who knew him, we calmly leave the award. And certainly, if there was ever a man who would have nothing but truth spoken of him, — nothing strained or exaggerated, — it was he. Did we *know* any fault of his, we should feel almost obliged, by his love of truth, to name it. But we have nothing — not even one misconstruc-

tion — against which to defend him. In this day of conflicting opinion and sharp controversy, it is grateful to think of such a happy fortune. *His* name never was touched by any soil of rude and wrongful detraction. Good friend! thou sleepest beneath a tablet of pure white marble; and no evil word, no echo from the past, disturbs the holy repose of thy virtues.

In him all things were blended into singular harmony. Judgment he had, and imagination; deep feeling and deep calmness; severe taste and gentle forbearance; and there was nothing combative, nothing controversial, in him. "*Teres atque rotundus*," — rounded and even and well-proportioned, — manly and beautiful, was his spirit, like his person.

His was essentially an artist nature. In letters to the writer of this notice, he lamented, in touching terms, what he called "the one mistake of his life," — his ever entering the pulpit. Not, indeed, that the pulpit has not its own artistic ideal. But his nature, in its delicacy and deep reserve, more spontaneously revealed itself by indirection; more freely wrought out its ideals in pictures of moral beauty, than by direct argument, — than by directly looking into the faces of men, and saying, "Be ye virtuous." This we all saw at once, when he published the "Letters from Palmyra"; when he drew the noble and beauteous Zenobia, the sage Longinus, and the stately Aurelian. We saw that this was his sphere, rather than the pulpit. This, indeed, was preaching, and of the noblest kind, — inspiring us with the love of goodness and the hope of immortality; but the silent walls of his study echoed it to his ear, till it went forth without his presence, a voice of living beauty, among his own countrymen and among different and distant nations. We have before us a translation of it into German, under the title of *Zenobia, Königinn von Palmyra.*

We earnestly hope that some of his sermons will be published. The interest and admiration with which they were listened to, by hearers most competent to judge, the simplicity and beauty of his style, the profound reverence and healthful wisdom of his religious culture, persuade us that there must be many discourses of his, which ought not to be buried in forgotten repositories. Indeed, it was the manner, and not the matter, in which

any could have felt that he failed in the pulpit; and the defect of manner — i. e. of a direct and appealing earnestness — was, doubtless, especially felt for this very reason, — that the *matter* was so *excellent*. Certainly, the impression he left upon many minds was decided, clear, and strong, and awakened such a feeling of respect, and, indeed, warm regard for him, as any preacher might covet for "the crown of his rejoicing." We remember to have heard intelligent persons, *not* of his communion, say, — "We go down there," — it was to the church in Chambers Street, — "we go down there, from time to time, and we hear something that we *understand*, — something that comes up to our thoughts again and again, all the week." And when he finally broke away from the pulpit in New York, without even consulting his father or brothers, with something like an outburst of impatience, — he was not *always* calm and patient, — *no* strong-hearted man ever is; — on this occasion, an accomplished man, the head of a family, said, — "Could he but know, — could he but understand, what he has been to us! To me, and to my family, he is the greatest benefactor we ever had!" When these, and other things of a similar character, were told to our too self-distrustful brother and friend, it was a revelation of things unsuspected by him; and he said, "If I had known this, I should have paused."

But he was ever of the most unexacting and unselfish nature; he was, at the same time, a man of fearless and independent thinking, who always made up his mind for himself; and withal he had the utmost horror of every thing artificial, — of all conventional *seeming*. It was all this that accounted for his proceeding in the matter just referred to, and for his conduct and manner in many ways. From his mildness and moderation, a stranger might have suspected that he wanted decision, — he might not have looked for the expression of any bold opinion; but at the next turn of the conversation he was likely enough to hear the boldest and most uncompromising judgment expressed, upon a subject perhaps that divided public sentiment, — and that not with the manner of one who spoke with authority, but of one who gave utterance to simple and earnest conviction. It was no matter *who* said it, — so the manner seemed to say, — it

was, as an impersonal voice; but it was *to be said*, because it was felt to be true. There was no calculation about it, and there was no effort to shine. On this account he was the less remarkable in general society; but this simplicity and independence made him one of the most interesting of intimate companions, and one of the surest of friends.

There was one trait in his character which was not likely to be understood, perhaps not even suspected, except through this intimate converse, or through his familiar letters; and that was, the playfulness, — always, we are inclined to think, an attribute of genius, — the dry and droll humor, in which, at times, he loved to indulge. A competent judge once said of his letters, that they were, some of them, more like Charles Lamb's than any letters he knew. We trust that some of these letters will be published. In short, we desire to see a volume of Biographical and Literary Remains of William Ware, embracing some proper notice of his life and character, some of his letters and sermons, and perhaps his lectures on Allston, — the last labor of his life.

We have not designed, in this brief sketch, by any dates or references, to supply the place of such a memorial. We have endeavored only, with mingled sadness and satisfaction, to express our sense of what he was; to pay a tribute — too slight and imperfect — to one who has added honor to the name he bore, who has adorned the literature of his country, who has set a deep impress of his mind and character upon the hearts of many, and who, as a friend, is lamented as, in this world of imperfect relations, few can ever be lamented. His virtues rest, consecrate and holy, beneath the seal of death! When the seal is broken, — when "death is swallowed up of life," — we believe that he and those who loved him shall meet again!

O. D.

ART. VIII.—LIFE AND LETTERS OF NIEBUHR.*

IN these volumes we have the portraiture of an erudite scholar, of a sagacious and uncorrupted statesman, and of an eminently good man. There is something on almost every page of them that makes us feel that we are brought under the ennobling influences of a heart and mind, both of which were developed and furnished to an extraordinary degree of power and excellence. The portrait of Niebuhr, prefixed to the last English edition of his Roman History, is said to be a very good one. We should judge it to be a fair presentation of the man in whose presence we have conceived ourselves as having spent many pleasant hours, while reading these volumes. Those two large eyes, almost pressed out of their sockets by the brain which urges them to serve the scholar's searching zeal, do full justice to at least one of the positions assumed on a phrenological chart,—that which pronounces where a skill in languages protrudes its cerebral organ. The gaze of those two bold outlookers is subdued into gentleness by the whole cast of the countenance, which has a refined and a noble air, penetrated by a humane and a genial spirit.

This work is based upon a German publication, principally edited by Madame Hensler. The original is composed chiefly of Niebuhr's letters to this lady, which, being connected by brief explanatory and illustrative matter, serve to present a continuous sketch of the prominent incidents of his life, while they give a delineation of his character. The German work, however, was designed as a memorial of Niebuhr chiefly from a private or domestic point of view. His familiar letters to his most intimate friends, not being supposed to have been written with any idea that they would ever appear in print, expressed hasty opinions upon politics, art, and literature, mingled in with the utterances of a most tender and affectionate nature concerning domestic joys and griefs. Madame Hensler aimed to preserve the freshness and

* *The Life and Letters of Barthold George Niebuhr. With Essays on his Character and Influence.* By the CHEVALIER BUNSEN, and PROFESSORS BRANDIS and LOEBELL. London: Chapman & Hall. 1852. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 424 and 453.

heartiness of these spontaneous disclosures, while her caution led her to suppress sentences or whole letters whose publication might involve any thing like indiscretion to the living, or a betrayal of the privacies of the dead. The present work is more complete than the German one. Additional matter of an illustrative character is introduced, with many new letters. Though the volumes are still but an imperfect exhibition of the life and large labors and services of their subject, we hardly know of any other biography which excels it in the evident fairness with which it allows character to make its own impression, without any special pleading to evade criticism for faults, or to enhance the effect of virtues.

We suppose that the first impression which the perusal of these volumes will make on a reader will be that of pleasant and respectful admiration of the relation which they disclose, as having existed between Niebuhr and Madame Hensler. There is scarce any other land than Germany where the materials and the conditions of such a relation would have been possible at that time, or could be realized even now. Of the especial peculiarity of the case, we shall soon say a word.

Barthold George Niebuhr was born at Copenhagen, August 27, 1776. His father was the famous Carsten Niebuhr, who, born of a peasant family, rose, by his own talents and efforts, to the double honor of an offer of ennoblement from his king, and of refusing it. The father had earned distinction as a traveller, a diligent observer, an engineer, and a naturalist. He went out as a member of the expedition sent by the Danish government, in 1757, to make explorations in the East, and returned after six years, the only survivor of the party. His publications brought him into note among the literary men and the philosophers of Europe, and after his death, in 1815, his son, the subject of the work before us, wrote his life, a translation of which may be found in the forty-eighth number of the Library of Useful Knowledge. The father received a government appointment in South Dithmarsh, Germany, and there moved with his family — wife, one son, and one daughter — when the son was in his second year. The wife was an excellent woman, of a good stock, a true heart, and a fine mind. She was the daughter of the physician of the king of Denmark. The

new home of the family was at Meldorf, the chief town of the province.

The early education of the destined scholar and historian was highly favorable. Though of delicate health, he was not pampered, but trained by a steady discipline. His father's somewhat too practical, literal, and utilitarian views were balanced, and their effects qualified, by æsthetic influences operating upon him from other sources. The youth soon discovered that he lacked a natural inclination for the science of nature, and for a close observance of outward objects and processes, and he aimed with success to cultivate that faculty. His private education, under the forcing system of his father, developed a precocious intelligence, united with a morbidly sensitive temperament. He displayed a marvellous facility in acquiring languages: the surface of the earth seemed to be geographically delineated on his mind, so apt was he in mastering a map, and in recording its most minute features: and he had a skill in threading the mazes of political movements, and in foreseeing the probable issues of existing relations, which amounted almost to prophetic insight. The silly marvels which Miss Martineau and Mr. Atkinson relate in their strange book, as cases of clairvoyance, are more than paralleled in real wonder, and are far surpassed in dignity and credibility, by authentic instances in which Niebuhr's mind forecast what was to come. He had so thoroughly mastered the localities of Turkey at the time of the war, and kept himself so well informed, from the newspapers, of every incident, fact, probability, and circumstance which went to make up the issue, that, when eleven years old, he would talk of the subject in his sleep, and would predict on one day a movement or an event which was announced in conformity with his anticipations on the day following. A sensible editor is careful to explain to us this phenomenon without having recourse to the "black cat" which Miss Martineau takes into her philosophy. Accurate knowledge of existing facts, an instructed imagination, and a rigid analysis and balancing of the auxiliary agencies at work, were the sources of Niebuhr's clairvoyance. Subsequently it would appear that Niebuhr gave a qualified credence to the physical effects wrought by animal magnetism, which in his manhood was rife in Germany.

But what he thought of the impudent impostures and pretences which were evolved from the slender substance of truth in that fruitful folly, will appear from the following extract from one of his letters to Madame Hensler, in 1812.

"The physical sciences had been so exclusively limited to what was visible and demonstrable, that a reaction was inevitable as soon as the one-sidedness of this was perceived. Now, when you find it said, in so many words, in printed books, that a dreaming state is higher than a waking one, and that madness is the highest condition of humanity,— now the charlatans have done their worst, and the ridicule with which they have covered themselves will soon put an end to their trade. The good will then remain, and a considerable interval will elapse before people can return to the old one-sided views. For, in truth, it is ever the fate of modern nations to oscillate between two follies."— Vol. I. pp. 334, 335.

Niebuhr has given some account of his youth and his education in his Life of his father. The parent instructed his two children in history by stories, in geography, and in French and English. In his fourth or fifth year a tutor taught him reading, writing, and arithmetic. He learned the Greek alphabet in one day when he was six years old. A maiden aunt in his home spoke only Danish, so that, with the German, he had, from his childhood, two native languages. Those habits of iron diligence and of unwearied application, which account for a good part of the attainments of German scholars, were acquired by Niebuhr in early youth. Indeed, if we had not spoken of these traits as habits, we should say that he never had to acquire them, but received them from nature. At the age of thirty-one he knew twenty languages. From his first ability to improve the companionship of eminent persons of various culture, he enjoyed it. He seems to have attracted the kind and admiring interest of such persons, and always through life had the choice of the best for his intimates and correspondents. His father, he said, had always wearied of teaching his children whenever they showed the slightest indifference, and this fact, implying that any kind of instruction ought to be received with avidity, was a strong prompting to the pupils. The integrity and truthfulness of the son were fostered by the wisest care. His mother

kept down the risings of vanity on account of his talents and attainments. Niebuhr, of course, in later years was conscious of his own superiority in what he had toiled to attain, and he expected the tribute which he deserved. But dignity and magnanimity excluded all mean pride.

In the faculty of memory, Niebuhr scarce fell short of that miracle of anti-obliviousness, Joseph Scaliger. It is recorded of Lipsius, the editor of Tacitus, the longest of the ancient historians, that he offered to repeat the whole of his author with a dagger pointed at his breast to be plunged in case of his failing at a word. But this may have been the boast of a mere word-memory, strengthened by poring for years with a critic's eye over the pages of a favorite author. But Niebuhr's memory, was a furnished, an intelligent, and a philosophical faculty. Once, while he was engaged in writing upon another subject, his wife and sister playfully took up Gibbon, and questioned him from the table of contents on the most trivial matters. They tired of the examination, and gave up all hope of finding him in fault. In a conversation about the weather, he once quoted, with perfect accuracy, the results of barometrical observations for several years, as far back as 1770.

After some scanty help from a Gymnasium in Meldorf, and a visit to Hamburg, Niebuhr entered the University at Kiel in 1794, in his eighteenth year, and remained at his studies for two years, finding happiness and improvement in the fellowship of young and old philosophers and scholars. That he regarded himself as born for an historian is evident from his earliest letters. He writes to his father at this time, "History is my vocation, and to that I shall perhaps some day make my philosophical acquisitions subservient." And again: "I believe that nature has intended me for a literary man, an historian of ancient and modern times, a statesman, and perhaps a man of the world; although the last, thank God, neither in the proper sense of the word, nor in the horrible one that is usually associated with it. Meanwhile my individual taste will certainly carry the day; and, if my name is ever to be spoken of, I shall be known as an historian and political writer, as an antiquarian and philologist." Yet again he writes: "History grows dearer and dearer to me, so much so that my

ardor in reading history interferes with my zeal for philosophy, while no philosophy can blunt my inclination to history." It will be seen that Niebuhr's predictions of his fame as an historian rested upon the efforts which he was making to verify them.

Niebuhr had an early shyness in the presence of women. That he was conscious of this, and was so ready to acknowledge it, were tokens that he would before long overcome it. Writing to his father of his first acquaintance with those who were soon to be so fondly linked to the most tender affections of his noble heart, he says: —

"Yesterday I screwed up my courage, and began to talk to Miss Behrens and young Mrs. Hensler. Now, in gratitude and candor, I must confess that they were sociable enough towards me to have set me at my ease, if my shyness were not so deeply rooted. But it is of no use. I avoid them, and would rather be guilty of impoliteness, by avoiding them, than by speaking to them, which I should now feel to be the greatest impoliteness of all. At last, however, especially through taking a walk with Hensler and Dr. Behrens, I got so roused up that my awkwardness vanished, and I went home cured. Thus I was healed by Hensler's words and looks." — Vol. I. p. 44.

So the young man may have thought, sincerely; but the face of the narrative would lead us to imagine that his healing was wrought by a more homœopathic agency, and that the women, after all, were the physicians. Writing soon after of a very different woman, — whom he calls "a miserable twaddler, shallow and insipid," an insufferable pretender to learning and philosophy, and who had sought to patronize him, — he ventures to utter the following monstrous arrogance of manhood against womanhood, — being then just eighteen: "The honor that is my due can only be conferred on me by men like Reinhold and Hensler, for they have it in rich abundance to bestow; but not by any presumptuous dispenser of a usurped possession. I will receive roses and myrtles from female hands, but no laurels; I only wish that I may plant them, and then be crowned by three or five men." Yet Niebuhr now has no nobler laurels than those which have been woven for his brow by the women of whom we must speak.

Madame or Mrs. Hensler, mentioned in the foregoing extract, was a daughter of Dr. Behrens, and the

widow of a son of Professor Hensler, physician to the University at Kiel. She was six years older than Niebuhr. After her husband's death she resided with her father-in-law, and here Niebuhr became acquainted with her and her younger sister. He very soon was impressed by her extraordinary qualities of mind and heart, her clear and brilliant and well-disciplined judgment, her large acquisitions, and her amiable disposition. Though the volumes before us could not be more clear than they are of all that would tend to flattery or exaggeration, it is evident from them that Madame Hensler's eminent talents and virtues inspired Niebuhr with a respect and a deference such as he scarcely seems to have felt for any of his friends of his own sex, — and he had some of great distinction and worth. The letters in these volumes which she has given to the world disclose a relation of mutual confidence between them which could have rested on no other basis than that of an equality in all the higher traits of humanity. Niebuhr could write to her, as but few women and not many men would care to be written to, in epistles which combined in abrupt transitions the most perplexed themes of scholarly research with the most trifling incidents of household privacy, and which passed from the cares of statesmanship to the little disturbing emotions of wounded feeling or personal ambition. Theirs was indeed a rare friendship. Its lofty sincerity and entireness must have been a spiritual blessing to them both.

We learn, not from these volumes, but from other sources, that Niebuhr's interest in Madame Hensler took the form of an ardent affection, and that he made her a proposal of marriage. But in the emotions of a fresh grief, she had taken a vow at the grave of her husband that no other should fill his place to her. She, however, did for Niebuhr the next best thing in her power, — by selecting for him her sister, the Miss Behrens above mentioned. And when, after a most happy union with her of fifteen years, she was taken from him by death, and Niebuhr again sought the heart, or rather the hand, of Madame Hensler, she again softened her refusal by selecting for him her niece, who became Niebuhr's second wife. But still to the oldest of these three ladies, more than even to his first wife, and, with a marked distinction, far more

than to his second wife, did Niebuhr through his whole after life look for sustaining and approving sympathy. That she was older than he, and that he always acknowledged her power over him, were facts that gave a calm dignity to their intercourse. Would that we could read her letters also. The disappointment which Niebuhr expressed when, by the disturbances of war, or the jealousies of post-office agents, their regular receipt was interfered with, is a token what a value he set upon them.

But we have anticipated the incidents of Niebuhr's manhood, while he is still a youth before us. From the University at Kiel he went to Copenhagen, as private secretary to Count Schimmelman, the Danish Minister of Finance. Here, while just at the age of twenty, he saw and mingled with much improving society, and soon grew weary of the gayety in which also he was expected to share. His employment, though it helped to train him for his subsequent career, was not altogether congenial to him, and he surrendered it to become assistant secretary of the Royal Library. As he was about resolving upon a professional choice for life, his father was desirous that he should win distinction as a traveller and explorer. But his bias was already fixed, and he had formed an engagement with Miss Behrens. It was resolved that he should visit Great Britain, and avail himself for a time of one of its Universities. During a brief residence in London, and some country excursions, Niebuhr formed acquaintances with some distinguished men, and imbibed a strong predilection for the English people, whom he always afterwards esteemed next to his own. In October, 1798, he left London for Edinburgh, where he joined the University, and found friends in Playfair, Coventry, Robinson, Hope, Gregory, Home, Rutherford, Walker, and Grant, and especially in Mr. Scott, an old friend of his father's in India. The house of the latter was the only place in which he felt that he was on an intimate footing, and even here, owing to the marked peculiarities of the Scottish character, so unlike to the traits of his own people, he felt a constraint and stiffness which he amusingly expresses in his letters to his betrothed. It is only in these letters that any records of his experience at this period are preserved.

Niebuhr did not form a favorable opinion of Scotch

piety, as its social and private effects manifested themselves to him. Indeed, one might make his plain-spoken and unprejudiced testimony on this point a means for contrasting the influences of two such widely different forms of religion as those which Niebuhr had seen at home and abroad. His own training had presented to him both the genial and the philosophical embodiment of piety. In Scotland he saw the rigid, austere, and grim features of a faith which sat severely upon the heart, and lowered upon some of the amenities of life. That depth and sincerity and fulness of belief were on the side of the Scotch, would not, perhaps, have been admitted by him, though we should incline to that opinion. We quote some of his plain-spoken words: —

"Edinburgh, 7th May, 1799.

"Scotland stands far and wide in high repute for piety, and has done so from the commencement of the Reformation. The clergy, in general, are not good for much; that is allowed by every one who knows the country. [Niebuhr was not yet quite twenty-three years old.] The piety of the people is, for the most part, mere eye-service, — an accustomed formality, without any influence on their mode of thinking and acting. They say prayers, learned by rote, at their meals, even before and after tea; they observe all the ordinances of their Church, and consign Infidels, Deists, and Atheists to perdition, with the pride of a soul that knows heaven to be its own exclusive privilege. In short, I no longer blame Hume for judging the Presbyterians of Charles the First's time with harshness and scorn. I expected austerity among them, I find only rusticity. . . . My host is a carpenter. He and his wife have many of the usual vices of the common people here. They are lazy, avaricious, unsociable; but withal less dirty than most persons of their class. In the same house with me, a story higher, lives an ironmonger. This man, who is in humble circumstances, and uneducated, has always shown himself well-meaning and honest; he is a widower, and has several children, some of them scarcely grown up yet, who are all very well disposed. Although without a mother, they seem to keep their father's house in excellent order, and to be happy and industrious. Music is their only accomplishment. The nation has a peculiar taste and remarkable skill in this art, and the many and sweet national songs exercise and cherish the talent from which they have sprung. I have spent many a pleasant hour in listening to the singing of these good children, and always found myself a welcome visitor. This family are much

more rigid in their piety than those who belong to the Established Church [the Presbyterian]; they are Baptists, and have retained the most extravagant notions of the fanatics of the last century, in matters of austerity. To go to the theatre, to dance, to read worldly books, are alike inexpiable crimes. Where education and habitual culture of the nobler faculties cannot exist, such a way of thinking pleases me much more than the opposite, that of the people who give themselves up entirely to amusement. They look upon me as a great scholar, and, very likely, as an unbeliever." — Vol. I. pp. 140 – 142.

Among the letters of introduction with which Niebuhr was furnished was one to Francis Scott, in Edinburgh, an old friend whom his father had known in Bombay. On this letter, and on the friendly intimacy of confidential household life which he hoped it would open to him, the young stranger placed much dependence. He longed for a cordial relationship with some around him, wherever he was, through his whole existence. We extract some of his words concerning his relations with this family, as they present the marked characteristics of the Scotch.

"I found the venerable, white-haired old man; besides himself, his wife, a young lady who seemed to be his daughter, a grown-up young man, and two boys, all evidently his family. They all seemed even to have looked forward to my coming, as if I were an expected friend. The mother greeted me as being already an acquaintance, and the old father received me with the whole fervor of English cordiality, when it is aroused from the depths in which it ordinarily conceals itself in those who have not quite starved it out. He inquired with great earnestness about all that concerned my father; the letter had given him an unhoped-for surprise, for he thought that my father had been long dead. In the course of this conversation the whole family gradually left the room, and, when we found ourselves alone, he began to speak of my objects, and to open his heart to me about the position of a young man at this University. You will readily imagine that these exhortations, which were, and could be only, addressed to my age and its usual characteristics, did not wring my conscience; for certainly, at my age, it is impossible to be less liable to fall into youthful excesses than I know myself to be. But the noble old man spoke with such a tender anxiety, referred so solemnly to his parental cares, and his trust that he should keep his children's hearts pure, and then concluded with the words: 'You are from your parents and your friends; look

upon me as your father, this family as your own. I shall regard you as my own child. However hard you work, you will have leisure hours, and need recreation; seek it among us. I am at home myself every evening almost without exception; but if I should be out, my wife will be glad to see you, and if you like music, my daughter plays and sings. My eldest son, who is nearly blind, but an excellent youth, will be happy to go out with you, or converse with you.' He was so moved that he dried his eyes, and it cost me some trouble to repress my own tears. We shook hands, and I entered in thought a new home." — Vol. I. pp. 126, 127.

After expressing his joyful appreciation of the hearty freedom with which he, a young foreigner, was at once received by this family, he says in a subsequent letter: —

"I have seen the Scotts three times since. The strict and rather pedantic piety of the whole family causes me some embarrassment; still this quality seems to me truly worthy of respect, particularly in the father; and I wish and intend, as far as I can with sincerity, to conform to the Kirk. I should not like to grieve the old man, and at all events my ideas harmonize much more with his, than with those of the English infidels." — Vol. I. pp. 130, 131.

Again he writes: —

"The number of vigorous, thinking minds is incontestably much larger in this than in most other countries, but the bonds which hold them together are just as much weaker and slighter. I have never witnessed nor heard of family life full of deep and tender affection, nor of a hearty, enthusiastic, mutual confidence between young men. I have remarked and proved by experience, what, perhaps, will astonish you, that it seems very strange to a young Englishman for a young man to speak of his absent friends with warmth, and to occupy himself with thoughts of them in his solitary leisure hours. And to this void in their hearts and imaginations, perhaps, their universal licentiousness may be in great measure ascribed. [It is to be remembered that this was written by an ardent young lover to his recently betrothed.] Of the female sex I cannot speak from my own knowledge; out of Mr. Scott's family I have not had so much as one long conversation with any lady. I have, however, seen a considerable number, and found them extremely commonplace. On the whole, women, though treated with scrupulous politeness, are very little honored; and few men have any idea that their conversation can be an agreeable recreation." — Vol. I. pp. 131, 132.

Niebuhr returned to Holstein in November, 1799, and after a short stay with his friends he went to Copenhagen, in April, 1800, where, through the hearty interest of Count Schimmelman, he received two financial appointments in the service of the Danish government. The next month he was married to Amelia Behrens. This lady, who was three years older than her husband, was in every respect suited to be the bosom friend, the companion, solace, and inspirer of high aims to such a man. Her health was delicate, and her husband watched over her with the most devoted affection, till their union, after continuing through fifteen years, was severed by her death. He soon received the offer of a professorship in the University of Kiel, which he declined. In 1806 he exchanged the Danish service for a financial office in the Prussian government, and took up his residence at Berlin. He had felt the calamities of war while at Copenhagen, but was destined to experience yet more of its anxieties and horrors while he held a public post during all the distractions of Napoleon's revolutionary career. His official services were highly appreciated. He was honored alike for his integrity and his skill, and for his devotion to his duties under some of the most trying personal embarrassments. His mission to obtain a Dutch loan made him for a while a resident in Holland. In 1810, at the age of thirty-four, he received the appointment of historiographer to the king, in place of Johannes von Müller. The opening of the University at Berlin in that year gave him an opportunity of returning to those literary labors which had always carried with them his heart's true affection, even while otherwise fully occupied.

It was here that Niebuhr began, in the form of lectures, his great work on Roman History. While it was passing through the press, the French invasion of Prussia again subjected him to all the distractions of war. He even sought for himself a commission in the army. But the king, having for a while accepted his services as the editor of the "Prussian Correspondent," again invited him into a civil office, which required him once more to visit Holland. He was also employed as an instructor of the Crown Prince, between whom and himself there sprung up a most affectionate attachment. The death

of his father and of his wife, in 1815, overwhelmed him with grief. Her dying wish, as well as her living desire, was that he should complete his Roman History. Ever afterwards he connected with that work his own highest ambition, and the warmest affections of his heart, ascribing each impulse and attainment to "Amelia."

We find in this period of his life that his letters to Madame Hensler and others bear witness to his patient toils as a scholar, his virtues as a man, his sagacious and well-balanced judgments on public men and events, and his philosophical skill in the wide range of mental and moral themes which he surveyed. His wise and earnest dissent was always spoken or written against the lawless radicalism which, under the name of *progress*, would overturn the foundations of society. Yet he was not in any offensive sense a conservatist. He knew too well the conditions of all human advancement and amendment, to look for them save through the means of the wisest and calmest measures.

If we should make any exception to the candor and moderation for which we commend him, it would be on account of some excess of statement in the following extract, for the truth in it is exaggerated and unfairly stated. He was suffering from ill health in Amsterdam.

"I have been constantly suffering in my health, and yet could not make up my mind to send for a physician. My constitution, and more especially the influence exercised on my body by my state of mind, — which is always with me the true cause of health and sickness, — are too unlike any thing to be found among the Dutch, for a physician, whose opinions and mode of treatment have been formed here, to be capable of taking a reasonable view of my case; so rest, and a combination of mental and physical diet, must be my chief reliance. In fact, it seems to me, that the methods of treatment in the medical art (which would so gladly set itself up for a science) must be completely different in different parts of the globe, just as civil institutions do and must differ in different countries and nations. Thus, for example, the physicians here may be perfectly right in adapting their general treatment to colds, indigestions, and hardy, full-blooded systems, without taking intellect or feeling much into consideration. But woe to the stranger with whom these preconceived anticipations are incorrect, and who falls into their hands! In general, I do not like medical men; they form the most arrogant and unprincipled of all classes next to the

nobles, and rival the priests (as they used to be, for they are now on quite a different road) and the political economists. And no wonder; for they, too, must have a consciousness of internal untruthfulness, from the contrast between their pretensions and what they really are, and they try to conceal this from themselves by self-conceit. That this hatred towards this class does not extend to every individual is, of course, to be understood." — Vol. I. pp. 255, 256.

Among Niebuhr's fellow-professors at Berlin were such distinguished men as Schleiermacher, Savigny, Buttmann, and Heindorff. They made Berlin the literary centre of Germany. With a few others, they formed a philological society, which, meeting weekly, gave to each member the means of the highest culture. We extract a criticism by Niebuhr upon Schleiermacher, dated 1811.

"I have been for some time past disturbed by something in Schleiermacher's lectures, which could not come out so plainly in the first part, and certainly enables me to comprehend the unfavorable impression entertained of him by some noble-minded men, which used to give me pain, as I thought it wholly unfounded. Schleiermacher does not content himself with bare notices of the various philosophical teachers; he brings them into connection, and endeavors to trace out the fundamental idea of each of the ancient philosophers. This is as it ought to be; but it is a very difficult and critical matter to pursue such investigations, and requires that you should divest yourself of your own views; the necessity of which he himself inculcated in his introduction most impressively, but which he does not put in practice. It is my firm belief that he acts with perfect honesty in the matter, and that those who dispute his strict integrity in such, or any other cases, do him wrong; nevertheless, he appears to me to be in error. Though he does not indeed always attribute to the ancient philosophers that pantheistic view which regards matter merely as a phenomenon, and yet calls a CAUSE of the world external to matter an absurdity, he constantly refers to this view as to the primitive one, from which the various systems gradually departed, although it was only presented originally in poetical works. He also speaks of Anaxagoras, who first taught that Reason was an independent order of the universe, with a distaste, almost amounting to animosity, which has made a very painful impression on me, little as I am inclined to implicit faith. According to him, too, the early Ionian philosophers, the most elevated of all those who clothed their faith in the form of the popular religion, did not act sincerely in so doing. With these drawbacks, I like his lectures *much*, — they revive recollections

of the wisdom of the ancients, and contain much which I have never yet read." — Vol. I. pp. 325, 326.

Niebuhr makes frequent reference to Goethe, between whom and himself there passed a few letters, called forth by the present of the Roman History. It is easy to discern in Niebuhr's criticisms that he perceived the differences in the aim and character of Goethe at different periods of his life, and also the difference between what he was and what he might have been. Our own opinion of Goethe is, that he was a pagan in the worst sense of that word; that he was an embodiment of selfishness and heartlessness; and that he has exercised a malign and injurious influence upon the springs of moral and religious life second to that of no writer known to us. His splendid endowments and his masterly gifts were desecrated, not consecrated. We should regard even his mortal dust as infectious, and should shrink from proximity to it in burial.

Niebuhr thus writes to Madame Hensler in 1812: —

"We are reading Wilhelm Meister at present, as fast as my want of practice in reading aloud will permit. I had never before been able to take any pleasure in this book, and was curious to see if it would be different now, as in middle age we are less one-sided than in youth, and can enjoy relative and separate beauties, even when the whole does not make an agreeable or overpowering impression on us. But it is the same as ever with me. Our language possesses, probably, nothing more elaborate or more perfect in style (excepting Klopstock's Republic of Letters); in clearness of outline and vividness of coloring there is nothing to compare with it in our literature; it contains a multitude of acute remarks and magnificent passages; the situations are managed with extreme ingenuity, and all the parts are in admirable keeping; all this I can appreciate now better than formerly. But the unnaturalness of the plot, the violence with which what is beautifully sketched and executed in single groups is brought to bear upon the development and mysterious conduct of the whole, the impossibilities such a plot involves, and the thorough heartlessness, which even makes one linger with the greater interest by the utterly sensual personages, because they do show something akin to feeling; the villany or meanness of the heroes, whose portraits, nevertheless, often amuse us, — all this still makes the book revolting to me, and I get disgusted with such a menagerie of tame cattle.

"Is it not your feeling, too, that few things leave a more painful impression than for a great spirit to bind its own wings, and

seek to excel in the lower regions of art, while renouncing the higher? Goethe is the poet of human passion and human greatness under all their manifestations, and as such he appears in his early poems. Probably, indeed, he might then have made himself master of the whole sphere, to the farthest limits of which he was often involuntarily borne on the wings of spontaneous inward impulse. He neglected to possess himself of this united realm, which perhaps no single intellect had ever ruled with so absolute a sway as might have been his, and the wild and fragmentary character of his youthful productions displeased even himself in his riper years. It was chiefly after he had studied art, during his travels in Italy, that he strove after unity and completeness. His first attempts in this style, and his productions from 1786 to 1790, are quite unworthy of him. They simply display a thoroughly unpoetical, wearisome reality. But he wished to become a master in this style as well as in others, and to do so he narrowed his mind. To me this is most melancholy." — Vol. I. pp. 333, 334.

Again: —

"Goethe's second volume has reached us [*Dichtung und Wahrheit*]. While it is throughout as masterly a performance as the first, it is perhaps less pleasing; for his loves are certainly no Gretchens; his college life not his childhood; and literature a much less entertaining subject than the old imperial city. It vexes me, too, to read what is a godsend to the promoters of abuses, and cannot be sincere in Goethe's mouth, namely, his defence of the Catholic sacraments. I well know what may be said in their favor, but *that* Goethe plainly never thought of saying, and his representations must be offensive to both parties." — Vol. I. pp. 367, 368.

Concerning Herder, Niebuhr expresses the following judgment, in which we doubt not many readers of the voluminous, but unsubstantial and most unsatisfactory writings of the former, will accord: —

"I willingly recognize Herder's great qualities, and they reappeared in all their vigor as he lay upon his death-bed. During the latter half of his life they had been obscured. This idea has been expressed on one occasion lately, in a very striking manner; but we must look deeper for its cause. Herder was no longer the same man when he ceased to be religious. That was the case before he published his book on the 'Spirit of Hebrew Poetry'; but the most beautiful portions of this work had been written at an earlier period. A discord then arose in his mind, which tortured him as long as Hermann lived, and ended, after the death of the latter, in his making poetico-religious quibbles;

for the 'Discourse on Immortality,' the 'Essay on St. John,' &c., are nothing more. He still desired to maintain a harmony with his earlier tone of expression, and yet he was animated by a different spirit. He was proud and loved power. To place himself even on a level with Goethe, without presumption, he ought to have had clearness of intellect; but, on the contrary, he is only effective, and able to produce a really deep impression, where he speaks vaguely and suggestively, and excites emotion; as a philosopher he is commonplace." — Vol. I. p. 360.

We have been deeply interested in every hint and intimation to be found in these two volumes, which offers to give us any light upon Niebuhr's own religious opinions and feelings. He was evidently one who felt the precious value and realized the mighty power of a fixed and living faith, rather than one who enjoyed the full assurance and rest of well-established convictions on points in which faith committed itself for dependence to historical records. He had in his nature the essential elements of a vigorous and sustaining piety. His loyalty to God, to truth, to natural affection, to lofty principle, to the hope which soothes and swells the heart under affliction, is apparent in every expression of his inner being. On recovering from a dangerous illness in Rome, he wrote, "I felt it sad to die thus in a foreign land, but I was indescribably calm, and quite peaceful in the prospect of another life." He was devotional, too. His life was guided by the high laws of Christian rectitude and purity. On occasions his religious emotions would gush forth as from the heart of a child. But still he felt that he was weak where he would have rejoiced could he have been strong. He refers to a sceptical tendency of his nature or his culture. We cannot see that he yielded to this tendency, or ever entertained the consciousness of it but with pain. There are intimations that his early religious training had been deficient in some of those tender influences which overcome in childhood, once for all, the resistance of reason in matters of faith, by exalting the spiritual instinct, with its longings and its easy credences, above the questionings of the mind. Certainly there was much in the sceptical principle which he applied to historical documents, which might have justified him to himself, at least, had he launched into the freest license of unbelief. But his

was a discriminating mind. He was not one to admit that there was nothing better than a fable to support what the truest affections and the noblest instincts of man's heart crave to believe, and what the direst necessities of man's life forbid that he should doubt. One who knew, as he did, the price of truth, and the risks of virtue, would not be swift to peril their joint and several interests, for the sake of a philosophy whose shifting phases surpassed in number the lunations of each year in the German sky. He was not one to trifle in matters which suspend every thing precious to man alone, to man in his home, to man in the state. But he lived in times of severe trial for faith. From the pulpits and the professors' chairs around him, men who owed their livelihood, their places, their audiences, and all that commended them as teachers, to the traditionary influences and the surviving attachments of Christ's Gospel, were assailing it with their traitors' kisses, and under the name of criticism were practising stark dishonesty. Niebuhr knew these men, and his knowledge of them left him at no loss whether to despise them or the Gospel which they were bringing into ridicule. Much as his own theory of the poetical and mythical element in history might seem to ally him with them through the canons of scholarship, his integrity of purpose repelled him from them in every element of real sympathy. He likewise felt that, when they had spent their strength on words, the holy image which they had assailed survived in all its wonderful sanctity.

How distinct is this utterance, in a letter to Madame Hensler: —

"In my opinion, he is not a Protestant Christian who does not receive the historical facts of Christ's earthly life, in their literal acceptation, with all their miracles, as equally authentic with any event recorded in history, and whose belief in them is not as firm and tranquil as his belief in the latter; who has not the most absolute faith in the articles of the Apostles' Creed, taken in their grammatical sense; who does not consider every doctrine and every precept of the New Testament as undoubted divine revelation, in the sense of the Christians of the first century, who knew nothing of a Theopneustia. Moreover, a Christianity after the fashion of the modern philosophers and pantheists, without a personal God, without immortality, without human

individuality, without historical faith, is no Christianity at all to me; though it may be a very intellectual, very ingenious philosophy. I have often said that I do not know what to do with a metaphysical God, and that I will have none but the God of the Bible, who is heart to heart with us." — Vol. II. p. 123.

The almost total extinction of true faith in the Protestant Church of Germany was driving many from her diseased fold to seek for peace, or sentiment, or a new hope, in the old Roman Church. Disgust of rationalism took the form of a facile conversion, which could at least say this for itself, that it did not involve so much of insincerity. For to profess belief on the strength of an effort founded on a desire to believe, if it be one of the lower exercises of faith, is also one of its blameless impulses, and because of its fidelity to the heart's instincts it may reach at last to assurance and repose. Niebuhr regretted these conversions to the Roman Church. Especially was he pained by that of F. Leopold Stolberg, which at the time of Niebuhr's settlement at Copenhagen was causing a great excitement. But Niebuhr did not question the purity of Stolberg's purposes, who, pained and shocked by the rationalism of German Protestantism, and hopeless of its regeneration, not without great sacrifices of friendships and advantages, looked to Rome for peace. Niebuhr could candidly explain what Voss and Jacobi so bitterly impugned, — the sincerity of the distinguished convert.

At his entrance upon manhood Niebuhr had written, upon a paper intended for his own eye, this among other similar pious purposes, — "the holy resolve now more and more to purify my soul, so that it may be ready at all times to return without fear to the Eternal Source from which it sprang." In a letter of sympathy, which he wrote in 1801 to his friend Count Adam Moltke, who had been bereaved of his wife, Niebuhr says: —

"The spring-time and bloom of your life are over; but, torn from the world and all its follies, you may yet enjoy another consolation, and a pure delight in the memory of the past, and in the exercise and cultivation of all the noble sentiments that fill your excellent heart. Perhaps then a prospect beyond the grave may open to your eyes, as it has before disclosed itself to wise and holy men in similar seclusion and tranquillity of mind. Faith is the child of such effort and self-collectedness alone; it

has descended to many a one who has sought to attain spiritual light and purity; the fortunate rarely acquire it; they feel not the need of it; and the anguished heart, while in suspense, cannot give it entrance. I cannot, like Amelia, comfort you with expectations; but I believe that faith is not folly, and that we are blind here below."— Vol. I. pp. 180, 181.

From a long and most admirable letter of Niebuhr's, which we would gladly transfer entire to our pages did our space permit, we make the following extracts: —

"Faith, properly so called, in a much wider sense than religious faith, it is either not given to every nature to possess, or the possibility of its taking root and flourishing may be annihilated by an inharmonious intellectual life. The soil may be fertile, but the climate ungenial. My intellect early took a sceptical direction. With my whole attention bent upon the real and the historical, eager to comprehend and to get at the bottom of every thing, I let my thoughts follow the natural association of ideas, without endeavoring to guide them into any particular channel, and in this respect had neither, properly speaking, a truly creative imagination, nor any strong feeling of the need of something beyond the boundaries of experience to satisfy my heart, or perhaps I let both perish for want of nourishment. To this, unquestionably my natural turn of mind, was added the influence of miserable religious instruction, and of the living study of classical antiquity. Thus it was in riper years, and through the study of history, that I came back for the first time to the sacred books, which I read in a purely critical spirit, and with the purpose of studying their contents as the groundwork of one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of the world. This was not a mood in which real faith could spring up, for it was that of the Protestantism of the present day. I needed no Wolfenbuttle Fragments [on the discrepancies of the Gospel narratives, written by Reimarus, and edited by Lessing] to discover the discrepancies of the Gospels, and the impossibility of even drawing the outlines of a tenable history of the life of Jesus by such criticism. In the Messianic allusions to the Old Testament I could recognize no prophecies, and could explain all the passages adduced with perfect ease. But here, as in every historical subject, when I contemplated the immeasurable gulf between the narrative and the facts narrated, this disturbed me no further. He whose earthly life and sorrows were depicted had for me a perfectly real existence, and his whole history had the same reality, even if it were not related with literal exactness in any single point. Hence also the fundamental fact of miracles, which, according to my conviction, must be conceded, unless we adopt the not

merely incomprehensible, but absurd hypothesis, that the Holiest was a deceiver, and his disciples either dupes or liars; and that deceivers had preached a holy religion, in which self-renunciation is every thing, and in which there is nothing tending towards the erection of a priestly rule, — nothing that can be acceptable to vicious inclinations. As regards a miracle in the strictest sense, it really only requires an unprejudiced and penetrating study of nature to see that those related are as far as possible from absurdity, and a comparison with legends, or the pretended miracles of other religions, to perceive by what a different spirit they are animated.

"According to these statements, I might, perhaps, fairly claim to be called a genuine Protestant Christian; to be recognized by a Church which does not even thrust from her bosom those who make Christ into a cunning political aspirant, — a skilful charlatan and juggler, — men who, it is to be hoped, will not die without receiving the punishment of indignant universal contempt, and whom you, my respected friend, no doubt likewise despise in your heart, mild as your words are with respect to these blasphemers. Nevertheless, I cannot as yet make this claim for myself, nor would Luther recognize it, for I am far from having so firm a faith in these objects, so vivid a certainty of them, as of those of historical experience; they are still only in and among my thoughts, — not external to, and above me." — Vol. I. pp. 339, 340.

The writer proceeds in this letter to develop and approve what he regarded as a reasonable and credible tenet embraced in the system known as Mysticism, — "the belief that the pious man, only capable of longing and striving after a state of faith and Christian temper of mind, attains these through a supernatural assistance; and, when he has been made a partaker of them, may receive an illumination of the heart and mind in a manner inexplicable by logic and psychology, and to them foolishness." Niebuhr admits the risk of fanaticism in this principle, but affirms that this faith has been held in virtue and holiness, and with unshakable confidence, by men the latchet of whose shoes he was not worthy to unloose. This mysticism, he affirms, finds more nourishment in the Roman than in the Protestant Church, as the former speaks to the heart in many things where the latter is dumb; but he is indignant with those who think they can live in the ancient piety of the Roman Church by adopting its ceremonies and sacrifices. He adds:

"If, therefore, a longing, harassed, pious Protestant, in despair at the deadness of his own Church, and the waxen image which bears her name, should cast a look of love upon the Catholic Church, while concealing her weak points from himself, — if he creates an illusion for himself all the more readily because he has probably never seen her priestcraft, or not in its degeneracy, — we ought not, I think, to take offence at such a one." Though allowing this, Niebuhr thinks that such a convert would be most shockingly deceived in seeking an Ideal which has no substance, whose spirit has vanished, leaving only dead, cold forms, which hide gross hypocrisy and an absolute falsehood.

"Mournful," says Niebuhr, "as is the absurdity of going over to the Catholic religion, it may be accounted for, on the part of our young friends, in a manner which does them no discredit; but strikingly shows how entirely many of the Protestant clergy have departed from all positive faith, and done violence to their conscience; for if those who had the teaching of these youths had instructed them in the doctrines of Luther, they would certainly never thus have gone astray. It was because they missed, in what they had been accustomed to regard as religion in their homes, that without which religion is mere ballast, and found it, in words at least, at Rome, that they have been seduced into adopting all the follies of Rome as well." — Vol. II. pp. 104, 105.

It was, however, when Niebuhr felt in all its tender and solemn responsibility that his children were to be educated for the work and the risks of life, that he uttered his heart most warmly, as one who knew the worth and the methods of piety. Never did a father blend more sweetly the cares of love, the labors of instruction, and the prayers of true faith, than did he, when, with all the affection of a mother and all the wise thoughtfulness and anxiety of a father, he labored to do his whole duty by his children. These are some of his heart revelations. He is writing about his first child, a son.

"I am thinking a great deal about his education. But while I shall repeat and read the old poets to him in such a way that he will undoubtedly take the gods and heroes for historical beings, I shall tell him at the same time that the ancients had only an imperfect knowledge of the true God, and that these gods were overthrown when Christ came into the world. He

shall believe in the letter of the Old and New Testaments, and I shall nurture in him from his infancy a firm faith in all that I have lost, or feel uncertain about." — Vol. II. pp. 101, 102.

Again: —

"It is my most ardent wish that Marcus may be sincerely and earnestly pious. I cannot inspire him with this piety; but I can and will support the clergyman [the chaplain to his embassy at Rome]. His heart shall be raised to God as soon as he is capable of sentiment, and his childish feelings shall be expressed in prayers and hymns; all the religious practices that have fallen into disuse in our age shall be a necessity and a law to him." — Vol. II. p. 140.

Yet once more: —

"I wish, I strive with my whole heart, that he may grow up with the most absolute faith in religion, yet so that his faith may not be an outward adhesion, that must fall away from him afterwards, when his reason comes into play, but that from his earliest years the way may be prepared for the union of faith and reason." — Vol. II. p. 284.

But the important interest of those subjects upon which we have wished to quote the opinions of Niebuhr has led us to exhaust our space upon them. We must hasten to a close, and must compress much into few words. The sorrow which had clouded his residence at Berlin was in a measure lifted from his mind by the necessity of arranging for a removal to Rome, he having received the appointment of Prussian Ambassador to that court. He wrote to Madame Hensler, asking her to accompany him. She came to Berlin with that intent, but with her she brought her niece, Margaret Hensler, to whom Niebuhr was married previous to his departure. True to his scholar's instincts, he examined on his journey every library which promised to afford him any treasures of antiquity, and with his searching eyes scanned the text of many old manuscripts that he might discover perchance some classical fragments partially effaced by a more modern writing over it. In this way he discovered at Verona the Institutions of Gaius. Though he never seems to have felt at ease in Rome, he found much enjoyment and improvement there. His tastes were simple, his mode of life was unostentatious. He was devoted to the duties of his embassy, and dili-

gent in his literary tasks. His letters on public interests, on state affairs, and on morals, at a most distracted period of social life, are the utterances of a noble and candid mind, and of a character based on the loftiest principles. He had a healthful dread of worldliness and luxury. He writes: "May God preserve me from living so completely under the influence of the world as many do here, whatever may be the contrast between their life and mine in point of splendor. The elasticity of the intellect is destroyed but too easily by splendor and dissipation; particularly when one mixes with people of very different stations." These words, indeed, were written after his return from Rome, but he acted upon their wisdom while there.

He occupied at Rome a very difficult position, and was intrusted with business which it was not easy to execute. As a Protestant diplomatist, representing the Protestant monarch of a nation largely Roman Catholic, he was liable to be misrepresented, and was able to take but little personal satisfaction in bringing to a result any schemes which entered into his official duty. He often felt that, when two propositions were before him, both of which he would gladly have evaded, it was necessary for him to adopt one of them. He felt some embarrassment likewise in his private obligations, when he was aware of the efforts made for the conversion of German Protestants, artists and others, who were residing in Rome. He showed a hearty interest in procuring a chaplain for his embassy, and entered with warm zeal into his religious labors for his own family and those whom he embraced under his pastoral care. Niebuhr was remarkable for the intensity of his friendships. They were founded upon the perception and the appreciation of the best qualities of those whom he loved. His admiration of the Count de Serre, the French Ambassador to Naples, rose to a passion of esteem and love. Niebuhr's human weakness was irritability. This, he says, grew upon him steadily in life. The care and training of the little children who were born to him in Rome gave him a delightful occupation at home. He was weary, however, of his exile, and, after repeated applications for a recall, he was allowed to return to Germany on a furlough, after a six years' residence. By his earnest request, he was finally relieved of his office.

He took up his residence at Bonn, and there he delivered lectures in the University. He experienced his share of earthly trials, — the loss of a child, the burning of his new dwelling with many valuable papers, and the anxieties which attended upon the state of public affairs. He died of an acute disease on January 2d, 1831. His wife survived him only nine days.

Niebuhr's Roman History was the joy and labor of his life; he looked to it for a high and permanent fame after death. The judgment of the literary world has already been pronounced upon that remarkable work. Its merits are beyond the reach of dispute, but it is not free from faults. The principles upon which it is written would not admit of universal application to the science and art of history. Its profound research, its vast and comprehensive scope, its judicial integrity in matters where that quality is needed, as in estimating motives and characters, give to the work an unrivalled supremacy in its own field. Dr. Arnold studied German that he might read the work, and coöperated with Hare and Thirlwall in translating it into English.

The author's aim was to separate the poetical and the authentic elements in history; so that scepticism and research were of equal influence in guiding his inquiries, and they appear equally in their results. In the two leading principles upon which Niebuhr wrote, — i. e. the philological criticism both of the primary and the secondary authorities, and the delineation of the internal life of a people, as well as of their battles and constitutions, — he had been anticipated by one or more writers who had respectively pursued the one or the other principle. As to the second, he has found a rival in Macaulay. But Niebuhr was the first who put both the principles to a joint service. There is, however, a great risk in the application of the former principle. There are perils to truth in the selection and in the use of critical elements by which to test either class of authorities, especially the primary ones, because, however rigidly these critical tests may be conformed to the laws of a logical deduction, they will always depend in a measure for their suggestion, their proportions, and the severity with which they are applied, upon the philosophical qualities of the critic's own mind. Our chief objection to Niebuhr's historical theory, and

to that of many of the theologians of his adopted country, is, that it relies more upon an internal standard of judgment than upon external criteria for deciding questions whose decision depends on facts, not on opinions. Niebuhr says, in his History, "I assert the right of the reason to refuse to admit any thing as historical which cannot possibly be so." But what is to decide that possibility? Not a man's own intuitions certainly. Even the inferential deductions of Cuvier were not always infallible. How much more likely are mistakes to threaten in the application of inferential tests to opinions and alleged legends, than when we are dealing with the rigid forms and relations of natural science. Man will never be able to distinguish between all facts and all myths, till he has compassed the sphere, and read all the annals of truth. G. E. E.

NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

The Life and Labors of Rev. Samuel Worcester, D. D., formerly Pastor of the Tabernacle Church, Salem. By his Son, Samuel M. Worcester, D. D., Present Pastor of the Tabernacle Church. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. 1852. 2 vols. pp. 468 and 488.

The subject of these memoirs is justly entitled to a place with the eminent and influential of his profession and times. He lived during a period of signal interest in the history of our churches, and contributed his full share of the influences then exerted by the denomination to which he belonged. He descended from a family which through successive generations was marked by its religious character, and was trained under influences, domestic and social, and in precisely that condition of life, which observation has shown to be most favorable to the formation of tastes and habits adapted to his chosen profession. He shared with his yet more distinguished brother, Dr. Noah Worcester, and others of a numerous family, in the blessing of a wise and religious parentage, and gave early indication of the gifts which were afterwards fully developed.*

* His father, Noah Worcester, Esq., appears to have been endowed with

His oldest son, and now for many years his successor in the church at Salem of which he was pastor, is his biographer; and, as might be anticipated, has performed this work of filial piety with an earnest zeal. The task must always, under such circumstances, be one of delicacy. The nearness and tenderness of the relation, though supplying some obvious advantages, seem hardly compatible with the soberness and impartiality of judgment which faithful biography demands. In this instance, however, we know not that the writer has been tempted by his affections to extravagant praise; and we cannot but mark the modesty and good taste with which, while honoring a cherished parent, he has wholly forborne to exhibit himself.

The period of Dr. Worcester's ministry, first for five years at Fitchburg, where, while yet a young man, he was called to encounter some heavy trials, chiefly for his high orthodoxy, and afterwards at Salem, including the first twenty years of this present century, was, we have said, a period of great interest both to Church and State. Within these years occurred events and changes which have permanently affected the condition of our religious community. The vexed question of the Hollis Professorship of Divinity, introducing many others; the establishment of the Theological School at Andover; the gathering of the Park Street Church in Boston in 1808, with a view to a wider effect than such an undertaking at the present day would seem to imply; the formation of "The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions," to whose interests, from its origin in 1810 to his death in 1821, Dr. Worcester was wholly devoted; the diffusion on the one side of "The Panoplist," to which, as advocating the highest forms of orthodoxy, he was a zealous contributor, and on the other of "The Christian Disciple," of which his eldest brother, Dr. Noah Worcester, was at the same time the editor; and "the Unitarian Controversy," commencing in 1815, and continued in various forms and by different writers

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strong natural sense, was courteous and dignified in his manners, "set in his own way," and of an earnest piety. There were born to him in two marriages *sixteen* children, ten of whom lived to have families, sharing among them ninety-five children; and of the simplicity and frugality in which they were trained in those days of endurance, an effective description was given by one of their number at the centennial celebration at Hollis, in 1831.

"I was a stout lad," said Jesse, "before I had any thing like a surtout or a great coat; and I never owned a hat worth more than a dollar, or any kind of boots, before I had a family. It was thought more of for my parents to have *tea* once a week for breakfast, Sunday mornings, than it now is for some families to have it three times a day. Spoon victuals were the principal support."

"One part of their exercises and recreations at the family gatherings was that of sacred music. They were nearly all excellent singers, and such a choir as they made it would be worth a long journey to see and to hear."

through a term of seven years, were all prominent passages in the ecclesiastical history of the day, and well adapted, as they occurred, to enlist the zeal and call forth the gifts of such a one as was Dr. Worcester.

We are not studious, at this distant date, after a whole generation has passed, to renew discussions in relation to topics or events, the immediate interest of which has long since subsided. Still less are we disposed to renew the inquiry, to which of the parties engaged in that portion of the controversy conducted by Drs. Channing and Worcester must be awarded the praise of superior skill. We of course can be supposed to entertain but one opinion as to the truth in question; whatever may have been the ability with which the opposite error, as we must regard it, was maintained. We shall not be expected to assent to the remark of the biographer, "that in every requisite for a successful management of a controversy," among which he enumerates patience, accuracy, calmness, and discrimination, "Dr. Worcester was acknowledged by those best qualified to judge, whether friends or opposers, to be incomparably the superior of his opponent." Still less can we admit for an instant "that his greatest superiority was in the cause which he defended"; for that, with our deep convictions to the contrary, would be treachery to the Gospel of our profession.

But inasmuch as Dr. Channing is charged in these pages with "not treating his opponent with due respect in addressing to the public 'Remarks' upon his letter, instead of addressing *him* directly," we will just observe, it must be kept carefully in view, that a primary object of Dr. Channing's first letter was to refute the charges in the Panoplist of criminal concealment and subterfuge in the Liberal clergy as to their faith. "We are accused," says he, quoting the very words of the reviewer, "of 'the systematic practice of artifice'; of acting in a base, hypocritical manner, at which common honesty revolts." And, after quoting other like passages, Dr. Channing writes: "Charges like these are found, not in a political pamphlet, but in a grave theological publication; and uttered by a man who declares that he never took his pen in hand with greater caution, or with a more imperious sense of duty." *

Now, may it not easily be inferred, that a certain self-respect, in defending himself and his brethren from gross accusations like these, prescribed to Dr. Channing the very form of address of which Dr. Worcester complains? Dr. Channing declined a personal correspondence with one who lent himself, in these very letters, to the renewal of charges in themselves so discourteous, and so wounding to the good name of his most esteemed and

* *Vide* Panoplist, 1815, p. 251.

honored friends; — charges, moreover, which in these days, when a better spirit and exacter knowledge prevail, would not, we hope, be repeated. For without attempting, what our contracted limits forbid, any but the slightest glance at the subject, it may here suffice to say, that if the Liberal clergy of that day abstained from controversial preaching, or from insisting upon doctrines in dispute, it was in part from their deep conviction that such preaching was not profitable; and that they could not so wisely or so usefully fulfil their ministry as by inculcating the clear and unquestioned instructions of our common faith. "We seldom or never," writes Dr. Channing, "introduce the Trinitarian controversy into our pulpits. We are accustomed to speak of the Father as the one living and true God, and of Jesus Christ as his Son, subordinate to him, and deriving all from him. This phraseology pervades all our prayers and all our preaching. We seldom or never refer to any different sentiments embraced by others. But in following this course, we are not conscious of having contracted, in the least degree, the sin of insincerity. We have only followed out a general system, which we are persuaded is best for our people and for the cause of Christianity."

Again: "In thus avoiding controversy we have thought that we deserved not reproach, but some degree of praise for our self-denial. Every preacher knows how much easier it is to write a controversial than a practical discourse, and to interest an audience by attacking an opposite party than by enforcing the duties and motives of the Gospel. But so deeply are we convinced that the great end of preaching is to produce a spirit of love, and a sober, righteous, and holy life, and that every doctrine is to be urged simply and exclusively for that end, that we have sacrificed our ease, and chosen to be practical preachers, rather than to enter into the lists of controversy."*

This assuredly betrays no want of a fair and candid spirit. But the most material reply to the charge of concealment of sentiments is, that in those days, before questions of controversy had been freely or publicly discussed, there were many clergymen, even of those advanced in years, who had not attained to any certainty of conviction; whose minds in regard to some of the doctrines, concerning which the greatest diversity of opinion has prevailed, were in suspense. Nor among this number were there wanting able and learned divines, who acknowledged that, after long and patient investigation, they had not attained to clear and unhesitating assurance. The candor of their minds, their reverence for truth, and consciousness of their own fallibility, kept them ever open to conviction; while in the mean time the same

* Channing's letter to Rev. S. C. Thacher.

integrity forbade their teaching for doctrine to others what they had not been able to accept for themselves. Examples of a like spirit might be adduced from every church of Christendom, from the times of the Reformation to the present; and in none might an ampler list be gathered than within the Church of England, among whose prelates or distinguished clergy the names will at once occur of Whitby and Hoadley, of Law and Blackburne, of Paley and Watson, and, to add no others, of Parr and Whately.

But finally, even admitting what by some among ourselves has been conceded, and on which others may still see fit to insist, that there *was* somewhat of reserve or concealment in regard to some points of disputation, may it not have proceeded from a sincere opinion that the religious community, engrossed as was the whole country at that crisis with absorbing questions of national or political interests, and of consequence indisposed to theological discussions, were as yet unprepared for such disclosures; and that forbearance in respect to them might be wholly in accordance with the spirit and with the authority of the example of the Great Teacher, who, though knowing well the briefness of his opportunity, and "straitened in spirit" to fulfil his ministry, still said to the disciples whom he had chosen to be the messengers of his truth, "I have many things to say, but ye cannot bear them now."

We return to Dr. Worcester. The last ten years of his life were extensively given to the cause of Foreign Missions, which he adopted with his whole heart, and with his best abilities pursued. As Corresponding Secretary of "the American Board," he was intrusted with its most important concerns, which he conducted with singular energy and zeal; uniting incessant industry with habits of exact preparation * and great facility of execution, all which, together with a clear, condensed, and felicitous expression, made his official correspondence and Reports models of their kind.

Dr. Worcester appears to have conciliated the warm affection and confidence of those with whom he was associated, whether in the domestic, professional, or social relations. For the latter part of his ministry he was connected with the Rev. Elias Cornelius as his colleague, with whom he lived as a father with a son, in an exemplary and even tender friendship. He was emi-

* His habit of careful preparation was applied, not only to writings designed for the press, but, as in some instances given in the memoirs, to devotional exercises, and particularly to occasional prayers. And we will venture to recommend the example as worthy of imitation by some of the diffuser brethren, as a remedy much needed for those disjointed and rambling services too often heard, involving vain repetitions, and exhausting the spirits even of the devout.

nently trusted and honored by his brethren, and the whole religious community of which he was a member, for his practical wisdom, kindness of spirit, unquestioned piety, and hearty devotion to whatever, in his view, seemed to be the cause of his Master.

History of England from the Peace of Utrecht. By Lord Mahon. Vol. V. 1763 – 1774. Vol. VI. 1774 – 1780. London : John Murray. 1851. 8vo. pp. 500 and xliii., 501 and xliii.

In these volumes Lord Mahon resumes his narrative at the point where it was interrupted when we last had occasion to refer to his History.* They have the same general characteristics, and are marked by the same impartiality, as the former volumes. Indeed, we think this trait in his Lordship's character as an historian is even more manifest now than it then was. When his last volumes were written and published, the Reform Bill of 1832 had but recently passed. In the Parliamentary discussion of that great measure he had taken some share ; and, fresh as he was from those well-fought fields of party warfare, he could not resist the temptation of making his History the medium of his lamentations over the "downfall of the British Constitution." But several years have elapsed since that time, the government by king, lords, and commons still exists in unimpaired vigor, and he does not now feel obliged to bewail the evils of Parliamentary Reform on every possible opportunity. Consequently, one great defect of the later of the preceding volumes is not found in those now before us. Still, we cannot bestow very high praise on his Lordship's History. In truth, his impartiality is his chief merit. In other respects his work exhibits little else than the tameness of mediocrity. His style is somewhat hard and dry, without warmth of coloring, briskness of movement, or vigor of expression. He rarely rises into eloquence, and never falls into any marked faults of language. He quietly pursues the even tenor of his way, never approaching Macaulay in splendor of imagination and breadth of learning, nor ever approaching Guizot in insight into the nature and causes of those social and political changes which determine the destinies of nations. In one word, his diction is cold and correct, whilst his historical portraitures are marked neither by great analytical powers nor by originality of conception.

His impartiality, however, sometimes fails him ; and we see

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* Christian Examiner, No. 153, pp. 505, 506.

his Tory prejudices peeping through his narrative in the guise of some commonplace reflection or some depreciatory criticism on those who were actuated by different political views from his own. Thus he undervalues the ability of the Marquis of Rockingham, and finds little to commend in the statesmen who followed that great political leader. Yet few men have ever cherished purer motives, or labored more wisely for the good of their country, than the Rockingham Whigs. So, too, he thinks proper to attack the memory of Franklin, of Samuel Adams, and of most of the prominent leaders on the American side in the struggle with the mother country. But the worst fault of the volumes now upon our table, as well as of the previous volumes, is his Lordship's tenderness for the Hanoverian sovereigns. He has the true Tory love and reverence for George the Third, notwithstanding that monarch's bigotry, stupidity, and obstinacy. Hardly less objectionable than his varnishing over of George the Third is his attempt to defend that most detestable of all party combinations known as the "King's Friends." With these exceptions, we find little to censure in the work, which will doubtless take a respectable place among histories.

Lord Mahon has interspersed his volumes with various biographical sketches of the prominent men of that age; but they strike us less favorably than those in the previous volumes. The most noticeable are those of Washington, Wilkes, Dunning, Wedderburn, Thurlow, and Sir Philip Francis. He has also devoted one chapter to Voyages and Discoveries, in which he gives a good account of Captain Cook. The best chapter, however, is that on the literature of the age, which contains some pleasant observations on Hume, Gibbon, Dr. Johnson, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and the Literary Club. In general Lord Mahon is scrupulously exact in his statement of facts; but we notice a few errors which we trust will be corrected in an American edition, if the volumes are reprinted here. These mistakes, however, are attributable either to a misapprehension of the original authorities, or to a reliance on authorities that are not worthy of credit, and in no respect weaken our general confidence in the noble author's accuracy as a narrator.

The Appendices contain much useful and curious matter. Among the articles of most interest and value are a letter from Sir James Mackintosh to Mr. John Murray, in reference to the authorship of Junius, and extracts from the correspondence of George the Third with Lord North, of Lord Stormont with Lord Weymouth, and of Mr. Fox with the Duke of Grafton.

A reference will be found in this journal, a few pages further on, to an act of grave injustice towards President Sparks, of which Lord Mahon has been guilty in one of these volumes.

The Prometheus of Æschylus, with Notes, for the Use of Colleges in the United States. By Theodore D. Woolsey, President of Yale College. New Edition, revised. Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe & Co. 1850. 12mo. pp. x. and 108.

President Woolsey was the first, we believe, to edit a Greek play in this country, and his labors in this department are more numerous than those of any other scholar among us, he having prepared in all four plays: the present one of Æschylus, the Antigone and the Electra of Sophocles, and the Alcestis of Euripides, which have all passed to a second, and some to a third edition. In the same field he has been followed by Professor Felton with a valuable edition of the Agamemnon, — a tragedy crowded with difficulties, — and of two comedies of Aristophanes. In 1837 Professor Isaac W. Stuart also, then of the College of South Carolina, edited the Œdipus Tyrannus of Sophocles. These books are an honor to American scholarship, and some of them will bear a very favorable comparison with the editions of British and European scholars, prepared for similar purposes. That they were needed by our colleges is fully shown by the fact that they have been so much used; and the circumstance that they are in constantly increasing request, proves beyond question that classical learning, even in its highest and most recondite form, is growing in favor and beginning to flourish among us.

The text of the Prometheus in the previous editions was chiefly that of William Dindorf, as given in his much-esteemed edition, *The Greek Dramatic Poets.* In the present edition, however, the editor states that he has made some changes in the text, enumerating sixteen cases, but he gives the authority or ground of those changes in only three instances. Scholars, especially those who are not furnished with a critical apparatus for the study of Æschylus, would, we doubt not, be gratified to know precisely in what the changes were founded. We would not be understood as intimating that President Woolsey deals rashly with his author; in his works on the classics he has always done the reverse of this.

The Notes remain substantially, and in most cases literally, what they were in the preceding edition of 1841; but here and there a former statement is modified, or a new one added. Those who undervalue English scholarship will be surprised to see the views of Porson, Stanley, Elmsley, and Blomfield so often mentioned, though the editor introduces the opinion of the good Bishop of London as frequently to reject as he does to adopt it.

The text is printed, as before, with the Tauchnitz type, which is very beautiful and grateful to our eye, and is surpassed in these respects only by the Porson font, now commonly used at Cambridge, and which was employed in the notes of the present volume.

We avail ourselves of this opportunity to remind our readers that this play and the Agamemnon have recently been done into our own language by Mr. Herbert, an English gentleman resident in this country. This translation is singularly accurate and forcible, and, in the estimation of competent scholars, is a wonderful approach toward the great original, as well in loftiness of spirit as in elegance of manner.

The Aias of Sophokles, with Critical and Explanatory Notes. By J. B. M. Gray, M. D., late of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. Cambridge: John Bartlett. 1851. 12mo. pp. 350.

A worthy edition is now presented to the American public of one of the masterpieces of the greatest of Greek tragedians. An accurate text, carefully founded upon the manuscripts of best authority, and a comprehensive commentary, embracing a skilful collation of all the most valuable notes of a host of brilliant scholars, German and English, who have devoted their labors to illustrate the genius of Sophocles, as well as a large amount of critical and explanatory matter, for which we are indebted solely to the taste and learning of the editor, combine to render this the best edition of the Ajax which has appeared in England or America. In the notes, the wants of the tyro and of the mature scholar are alike provided for; so that the book is adapted both to encourage and facilitate the progress of the young student, and to interest and instruct him in after years, when his knowledge of the Greek language and literature shall have become more extensive. Besides incorporating in his commentary the invaluable grammatical notes of Hermann, the editor makes frequent references to the best grammars, and directs the student to the best sources of information upon those points which present the greatest difficulty. One of the highest services which a ripe scholar can render to the learner is to give a clear, concise, and simple statement of the leading principles of syntax, and point out their precise application in particular instances. The elaborate discussions in the larger grammars can be understood only by those who have already acquired a considerable familiarity with the constructions and usages of the language; the young student turns to them only to be involved in deeper perplexity and confusion. Examples of the happy exposition and

application of the principles of syntax abound in this work of Mr. Gray.

The editor has been no less fortunate in his attempts to direct the reader's attention to the exhibition of the poet's art and genius in the development of the plot, and the thousand "careless and inimitable beauties" of thought and language, and vivid delineation of character, by which the play is adorned. His own sketches of the characteristics of the principal personages will be read with interest; particularly, we are confident, his exquisite portraiture of that noble ideal of womanhood, Tekmessa (pp. 268–270).

To the intrinsic merits of the book are added all those external advantages which the generosity and skill of the publisher and printers could supply; the clear, rich Porson type of the Greek text, the tasteful typography of the whole work, excellent paper and a handsome shape. We trust that the editor and publisher will find a community ready to appreciate and reward their labors; and that this book will gain, as it deserves, a place in the library of every scholar, and among the text-books of all our higher seminaries of learning.

Ancient Egypt under the Pharaohs. By John Kenrick, M. A. London: B. Fellowes. 1850. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 509 and 528.

This is an interesting and valuable work. It gives us the history of Ancient Egypt, with whatever light has been thrown upon it by the labors of travellers, artists, and philologists since the commencement of the present century. The works of Young, Champollion, Wilkinson, Rosellini, Bunsen, and Lepsius are accessible to comparatively few readers. A work, giving a clear and comprehensive view of the results of the combined labors of the distinguished explorers above mentioned, comparing their various opinions, and exhibiting what appears to be established or probable, in systematic order, was evidently much wanted. This work of Mr. Kenrick has well accomplished the objects which have been mentioned. It describes the land and people of Egypt, — their arts and sciences, their civil institutions, and their religious faith and usages, — from the earliest period up to the time of the absorption of the monarchy in the empire of Alexander. The account of the art of writing among the Egyptians, of their theology, their sacerdotal order, their sacrifices, their doctrine of a future life, compared with that of the Hebrews and Greeks, will have a special interest for the student of the Jewish religion and institutions. For no one can

doubt that the residence of the Hebrews for four hundred years in Egypt must have had a very important influence on their habits of thinking and acting on all subjects. The work of an impartial historian like Mr. Kenrick, not committed to any of the peculiar theories or biases of the original explorers who have been named, will be more likely to give a fair view of the modern discoveries in Egyptian antiquities to most readers, than the original works from which he derived his information. Mr. Kenrick's work is arranged by good method, and expressed in clear and good English. It ought to find a place in all public libraries, and especially in all libraries for the use of clergymen. We hope some enterprising publisher will consider whether its republication in this country would not be sufficiently profitable. It might thus be obtained at much less expense. The cost of the work, if imported, puts it out of the reach of all but a few.

Lectures on the Formation of Character. By the Rev. THOMAS M. CLARK, D. D., Rector of Christ's Church, Hartford. Hartford. 1852. 12mo. pp. 155.

THIS is a modest and useful book. It contains six Lectures on the different themes of "Formation of Character," "True Principles of Trade," "Amusements," "Books," "Thought," "To Young Women"; followed by one, not a pulpit discourse like the rest, on the "Analogy of Mechanical and Moral Progress." A glance at these subjects will show that the work is not a common one with Episcopal clergymen. And we may be allowed, without offence, to rejoice that such themes are discussed at all in the pulpits of that church, of which Dr. Clark is an ornament. He may have good reason to ask, though not more than ministers of other denominations, "whether, in our popular religious teaching, there has not been a great defect in respect of the application of the fundamental doctrines of the Gospel to the specific points of casuistry." He has well answered the question on his part, by preaching and publishing these Lectures. They are not only perfectly liberal and large in their spirit, but they are clear, discriminating, and just. Those difficult themes, of Amusements, and Books, are treated generously, with no austerity and no laxity. We have known them to be handled with greater ability, but never with greater fairness. It is a good sign when such men say, "There is an order of truths soon to be contended for, which will make us forget the old metaphysical battles of theology." "It is to such subjects as these that your attention should be first directed: the

nature and being of a personal God; the problem of human destiny; the purpose of man's creation, and his final allotment; the character of the Divine laws, as disclosed in nature and in revelation; the ground and the limitations of our responsibility; the nature and certainty of moral recompense; the means of our acceptance with God, and the practical duties which he assigns to us."

Lyra, and other Poems, by Alice Carey, Author of "Clovernook, or Recollections of our Neighborhood in the West," and one of the Authors of "Poems by Alice and Phebe Carey." New York: Redfield. 1852. 12mo. pp. 178.

The genius indicated in these Poems is not a gift so common that we can lay them silently aside, nor so uncommon as to disarm criticism. Those whose imaginations are cold and sterile, whose vocabularies are poor, may be either thrown into ecstasies of admiration by, or rise utterly bewildered and wearied from, these pages; we know not which will be more likely. There is no small power in them. We shall, perhaps, lay ourselves open to the charge of being old-fashioned and conservative, if we hint there is some monotony, some trace of imitation, and something that looks a little like affectation. We think the young author has loved Milton and the older poets well, and has faithfully studied Tennyson and Mrs. Barrett, and Heaven has given her poetical conceptions, with an unusual affluence of poetical language. We do not wonder that she is an author; we should suppose that she could not help it. Yet we wish she were more simple.

It is always a disappointment to us when rich words do not convey a thought as rich in moral or spiritual wisdom. The sadness which pervades these pieces seems to us hardly wholesome or Christian, and the drift of many of them is quite obscure. And yet, could the author forget all models, eschew ambitious peculiarities of diction, think it an object to discipline her taste, and write with a high and holy aim, we feel that she might become one of the "shining ones" who visit her day-dreams. She has in her the true poet, who delights, elevates, and blesses.

We particularly like the "Death Song," "To the Hopeful," "The Dying Mother," and "Live and Help Live." If these are among the most lately written, they may be indications that she is finding her way out of the thickets and labyrinths, in whose bright, wildering mazes she seems in danger of being lost.

Life of Lord Jeffrey. With a Selection from his Correspondence. By Lord Cockburn, one of the Judges of the Court of Session in Scotland. Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo, & Co. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 343, 368.

Lord Cockburn undertook the biography of the man whom he calls "the greatest of British critics," at the request of the family and friends of the departed. To all the lovers of modern English literature, who prefer that form of it in which veritable personal experiences and living relations are disclosed in household incidents and frank correspondence, these volumes will be a treasure of delightful enjoyment. The great *incident* of Lord Jeffrey's life was his voyage across the Atlantic, under the impulse of love, to take a wife and carry her back with him. Such was his nervous dread of the ocean, and his horror at the needful exposures which it involves, that this voyage, undertaken, too, at a time when there was war on the deep between England and our own republic, exalts his judgeship into a most chivalrous knight-errant, and should, to some extent, win for him forgiveness for his often severity as a critic. These volumes are largely composed of his letters. They are full of wit and philosophy. The circle of eminent men whom, as the editor of the Edinburgh Review, Lord Jeffrey retained in his service, and whom he was obliged to remind of their promises and duties, presents to us a rare set of correspondents. We seem to hear the master drilling them in their lessons, as he criticizes their criticisms.

Lord Cockburn has done his work well, because he gave himself but little to do. The relations of intimate friendship may have in some instances qualified his judgment, while in other instances they have enabled him to make frankness and familiarity the means of serving charity. That is certainly to be regarded as no slight privilege which we of this generation enjoy, that we have been so bountifully enriched within a few years by so many charming literary biographies, embracing such stores of valuable correspondence. Beginning no farther back than with Sir James Mackintosh and Walter Scott, what treasures have we in the memorials of Crabbe, Lamb, Southey, Coleridge, Campbell, Chalmers, Wordsworth, Lord Eldon, and Niebuhr. Lord Jeffrey deserves that place among these men dead, which he had with most of them when alive. We commend to our readers the volumes before us, for there is wisdom and amusement of a good sort to be found in them.

Uncle Tom's Cabin; or, Life among the Lowly. By HARRIET BEECHER STOWE. Boston: John P. Jewett & Co. 1852. 2 vols. 12mo. pp. 312, 322.

THIS is an American book. Our English critics will have no occasion to propose, as they so frequently do in treating our productions, some book of their own of which they can say that it is an imitation. Just now Miss Beecher rules in the book market. Even the two instalments of the "Bleak House," which the Messrs. Harpers, by an arrangement with Mr. Dickens, furnish so promptly and so cheaply, have not found so many readers as have hung over her pages. We shall not attempt any criticism of her work, for the perusal of it has left us in no mood for criticism. But we will express most warmly our admiration and gratitude, for we have been deeply impressed with the power and wisdom, the sound feeling and the acute judgment, with which the work is written, and we owe to Miss Beecher many earnest thanks. The true Christian philosophy which is practically applied by her to a subject of infinite difficulty, the skill shown in the delineation of character, the depth of sympathy manifested in the revelations of human hearts of a class not supposed by some to have hearts, the discretion with which she relieves a scene that is becoming too harrowing by turning upon it a cheerful light,—all these great qualities are exhibited by her in a most extraordinary manner. We will frankly say, that we know of no publication which promises to be more effective in the service of a holy but perilous work than this story of Miss Beecher's. If we could suppose that any number of our readers had not already perused, or at least secured, the volumes, we should be tempted to give them such an account of it as would hinder their reposing till they had planned to obtain it.

How I became a Unitarian: explained in a Series of Letters to a Friend. By a Clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, & Co. 1852. 12mo. pp. 216.

THE way in which a person attains any distinctive set of religious views, especially if they are substituted in his convictions for another set previously entertained, will generally decide how he shall hold and improve them, and whether he shall abide in them. We have read the volume before us with the purpose in our minds of judging the weight of its arguments and the mode of the author's conversion with reference to that test. We say, as the result of our perusal, that we are sure that the author can

never return to his former communion, or renew his allegiance, with any sincere convictions, to the views which in these pages he so cogently opposes. If it were possible that there could be an original volume on the subjects which he treats, we should say that the author had here written one. What has most impressed us in it is the fresh, unhackneyed, and earnest method of the author, the manifest production of each argument and objection from the workings of his own mind over the sacred page, and the perfect frankness of his spirit. There certainly is a marked originality in the volume. The course which it pursues is most natural and simple. There is no evidence in it which would lead us to suppose that the writer had ever even read a single Unitarian book, or been indebted to any suggestion outside of his own thoughts, for revealing the errors which he renounces, or for defending the truths which he adopts.

Yet there is very little in the volume that relates to the private or personal experience of the writer, apart from the workings of his own mental efforts. He tells us that his first natural tendency was to metaphysical processes rather than to those devotional manifestations which are so often regarded as the only tests of piety. Then he says that he became sceptical, and he briefly relates how he was brought out of that state, and led into the Episcopal communion, where, however, he soon found that he was not to enjoy peace. He more than once assures us that he left that communion with regret, and he expresses himself towards it — saving for its unscriptural and untenable principles — in a respectful and tender manner. He pursues the representation of his change of opinions through the prominent doctrines which distinguish Trinitarianism from Unitarianism. He leaves the beaten track of argument and illustration in treating those controverted points. Indeed, we can scarcely say that he ever enters upon that beaten track, for he frequently takes us by surprise by opening a train of thought upon some time-worn theme, which leads us away from the accustomed course of controversy. We think that our readers will share this surprise with us, when they turn over his pages. They may be looking for textual criticisms, and for a strife of words, and for sharp distinctions between their meanings. But they will find that the writer has approached his task in a spirit of reverence and with deep feeling, and that he has given to it the whole earnestness of a vigorous and a well-furnished mind.

We do not always accord with our author in his interpretations of texts, nor are we prepared to assent to all the general principles which he recognizes. If we fully understand his meaning in a few passages that we have noted, we should be glad to raise an issue with him. For example, on page 29, in questioning the

soundness of St. Paul's reasoning, he remarks upon 1 Tim. ii. 15, that St. Paul "makes child-bearing the saving act." He thus ascribes to the preposition διά, in the text, the signification of *instrumentality*, which it frequently bears. But we are satisfied that the passage is more correctly rendered if we give to the preposition either of the meanings which Schleusner classifies under the 9th, 10th, or 14th classes of its significations, — "saved in the process of child-bearing." On page 42 the author says: "A bishop and a liturgy, — a splendid ritual and a simple faith, — are what, above all things, I desire to see in a church." We fear these elements are incongruous. We dissent from the author in his implication that St. Paul entertained any belief in the heathen deities, and that the Apostles regarded Jesus as an inferior deity. We do not think that the author has given the right construction to the passage so much controverted, in Phil. ii. But we should be sorry to have these strictures interpreted as greatly qualifying our approbation of this very interesting volume. We thank the author for it, and heartily advise our readers to obtain and peruse it. Another Episcopal minister of New York has just followed him in embracing our views.

Thorpe, a quiet English Town, and Human Life therein. By William Mountford. Boston: Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. 1852. 16mo. pp. 390.

Another book from Mr. Mountford, written in the tone and strain by which he first became known to us as an author, will be warmly welcomed by all who have read "Martyria." Human life is never quiet even in the most "quiet town," whether in England or elsewhere. Wherever there is thought and feeling, and the perplexed experiences of existence pass on, human hearts will be agitated, and there will be abundant material for daily interest in the household scenes of a village. But the interest which we attach to the different experiences of human beings varies largely in its character, according to the materials which are presented to us. A noisy manufacturing city, or a commercial emporium, with all their distracting bustle and open warfare of worldliness or vice, will turn our thoughts into a direction quite unlike that which they take by the firesides or the lanes of a still country village. Mr. Mountford seeks to develop the humanities of life and the harmonies of wisdom through a very simple story. Conversation, rather than incident, is the medium through which he would interest us. And he succeeds. There is a charming and graceful tone in this volume, a spiritual sweetness of sentiment, and a genial philosophy, which will

calmly insinuate their influences into the heart of a reader, and detain him in a delightful mood over the unfatiguing page. The book is one of those which help largely to purify and make wholesome the springs of human life.

Course of the History of Modern Philosophy. By M. Victor Cousin. Translated by O. W. Wight. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1852. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 452 and 439.

The translator has done a good service in offering for the first time to English readers the later and more elaborate portion of M. Cousin's philosophical works. We do not accept the philosophy of the brilliant Frenchman; not because it is not as good a *system* as we know of under the name of Philosophy, but because we think any system of philosophy, in the ordinary sense of the word, is a thing that never can afford rest or satisfaction to the human mind. But Cousin is one of the most acute and eloquent of philosophers. A few years ago he was the idol of a set immediately around us, and though we could not share their intense admiration, it moved us to take some pains to explain it. We have in these volumes, which seem to us to be most admirably translated, some of the most skilful analyses of the nature, operations, and fruits of the human mind in the highest reachings of thought. The criticism of Locke, as a criticism, is perfectly exhaustive. The enthusiasm which attended the delivery of his Lectures, when Cousin resumed his public labors, was almost a revival of what we read of as attendant upon the utterances of Picus of Mirandola, or of Abelard. We hope that our literary circles will show a just appreciation of Mr. Wright's labors, while they avail themselves of the opportunity to read a delightful writer in a foreign tongue, through the medium of a faithful English version.

Arctic Searching Expedition: a Journal of a Boat-Voyage through Rupert's Land, and the Arctic Sea, in Search of the Discovery Ships under Command of Sir John Franklin. With an Appendix on the Physical Geography of North America. By Sir John Richardson. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1852. 12mo. pp. 516.

There is a melancholy interest in the perusal of the former part of this volume. The dreary scenes of desolation through which it leads us seem to be in perfect sympathy with the hopelessness of the undertaking of which the book is the record.

We think that lives and wealth, and courage and enterprise, to a number and amount more than proportioned to any good results which could follow even from the most successful attainment of the whole end in view, have been spent upon the Arctic expeditions. If, by the most wonderful combination of felicitous circumstances, one vessel should ever effect a Northwest passage, this would be in itself no assurance that another ship could follow in her track. We suppose, therefore, that the time will come, if it be not already present now, when all further enterprises in that direction will cease. Then the records of past labors spent for the purpose will have almost a fabulous wonder, as well as an historic interest, about them. The book before us is full of instructive and exciting materials. The latter portion of it is of a scientific character, and will reveal many novel particulars to the reader.

A Pilgrimage to Egypt, embracing a Diary on the Nile; with Observations illustrative of the Manners, Customs, and Institutions of the People, and of the Present Condition of the Antiquities and Ruins. With Numerous Engravings. By J. V. C. Smith. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 383.

From a book like this, better than from one of the numerous and more elaborate volumes on the same subject, will those who cannot see Egypt be able to derive a clear idea of the actual character of the land and of its attractions. Dr. Smith has a gift for the work which he has here undertaken. While we feel that we can place confidence in such of his statements as involve his own personal testimony, we are willing to receive his assertions or judgment about other matters as worthy of fair consideration. He writes with great liveliness and vigor, and the reader will not grow weary over his pages. We are getting to be familiar with the ground which he traverses, and only a spirited pen will henceforward attract readers to the theme. Dr. Smith promises a similar work on Palestine.

The Annual of Scientific Discovery: or, Year-Book of Facts in Science and Art, for 1852. *Exhibiting the most important Discoveries and Improvements in Mechanics, Useful Arts, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Meteorology, Zoölogy, Botany, Mineralogy, Geology, Geography, Antiquities, etc. Together with a List of recent Scientific Publications; a classified List of Patents; Obituaries of eminent Scientific Men; Notes on the Progress of Science during the Year* 1851,

etc, *etc.* Edited by DAVID A. WELLS, A. M. Boston: Gould & Lincoln. 1852. 12mo. pp. 408.

WE have copied the whole of the above title, as the best exponent which we can offer of the varied contents of a very valuable volume. It forms the third of a series which it is intended shall be annually continued. The suggestion of the undertaking was probably found in the little annual published in London, entitled, "The Year-Book of Facts." Those who read from day to day nothing except a newspaper, are aware that in the course of every year there passes under their eyes the record of many wonderful and useful discoveries, of many revelations of the secrets of nature, and of many new and labor-saving processes. But these newspaper records are forgotten almost as soon as read. The volume before us aims to collect in a permanent and well-digested form all the striking results and all the useful discoveries of science, taken in its largest designation, during a year. It would be superfluous for us to commend such an undertaking.

Appleton's Popular Library of the Best Authors.

UNDER this general title, Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., one of the most enterprising and distinguished firms in our literary world, are publishing a series of very attractive volumes. Their compactness and neatness adapt them to easy management as they are read at home or in the cars. That the publishers are to admit a large variety of works in the series, and intend to consult the tastes of many classes of readers, is evident from the character of the volumes already published. These are as follows: — "Essays from the London Times: a Collection of Personal and Historical Sketches." Here we find some of the more elaborate literary, historical, and biographical articles which have recently appeared in the columns of the leading journal of the world. These are written by those who are masters of the themes which they treat, and their contributions are generally regarded as the ablest which money or interest can procure. The articles on Southey, Dean Swift, Lord Nelson, Howard, and the French Revolution, which, with others, are found in this little volume, are eminently worthy of being put into this form. — "The Yellow-Plush Papers," by W. M. Thackeray, contain the autobiography of a footman, who lets us into the secrets of high life, and who may open the eyes and quicken the consciences of some masters and mistresses to a sense of some truths which they fail to learn from better approved teachers. The satire of the book is very broad, its wit is keen, its philosophy is shrewd and penetrating; and though there is a painful and re-

volting story involved in it, if it be rightly interpreted it will be a solemn monitor. — "The Maiden and Married Life of Mary Powell, afterwards Mistress Milton." Like Lady Willoughby's Diary, and the Household of Sir Thomas More, as our readers generally will not need to be informed, this is a fictitious, but not a false volume. There is much literary skill and research, with a brilliancy of imagination and an intensity of thought needed by any one who would construct a book after the pattern of either of these. The authoress of Mary Powell has rare gifts for her undertaking, and there is a charm about her pages. We can easily persuade ourselves that we are reading just what would have been written by Mary Powell, if she had written any thing of the sort. — "Recollections of a Journey through Tartary, Thibet, and China, during the Years 1844, 1845, and 1846," by M. Huc, Missionary Priest of the Congregation of St. Lazarus. This is truly an original and an exceedingly interesting work. The subject-matter, the observations, and the way and medium through which they were made and are reported to us in these two most engaging volumes, distinguish them from the great mass of new publications. Our readers will provide for themselves a rich treat in these pages, which will transport them to scenes most unlike to those of their usual contemplation, and will offer them exciting adventures and novel incidents, with strange religious notions and doings, of which but few of us are aware that the earth affords the material. We cannot but express our gratitude to the Messrs. Appleton for this series of admirable volumes, while we commend them heartily to public favor.

INTELLIGENCE.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Of the new books, into the discussion of the respective merits of which we have not space to enter at any length, we must give at least the titles with a brief word of comment.

M. W. Dodd, of New York, has just published "A Commentary on the Book of Proverbs, by Moses Stuart." This was the last earthly labor of the venerable and devoted Professor at Andover. His hand was stiffened into its long rest while he was writing the last words of it for the press. From the cursory glance, which is all we have yet been able to bestow upon the book, we think that we shall be rewarded by its careful perusal. We may recur to it again after we have examined it.

The same publisher has sent us two handsome volumes, entitled, "The Glory of Christ: illustrated in his Character and History, including the Last Things of his Mediatorial Government. By Gardner Spring." The theme is inspiring and sublime, and the author, so long an honored and effective servant of the Church, might hope to treat it with power.

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co., of New York, have republished Dr. Latham's Hand-Book of the English Language, a book of great value and interest both to the English philologist and to every one who would learn the antiquities, the structure, and the genius of our tongue. Dr. Latham's works, to which we have referred on our previous pages, are exceedingly instructive, and we are glad to have the one before us accessible to our school and college students.

The same publishers have issued one of the religious tales so popular at the present time, under the pleasant title of "The Use of Sunshine." The story is interesting for its delineations of character and its domestic narrative, but we cannot approve all the religious views which it recognizes as good.

James Munroe & Co., of this city, have republished, from improved London editions, two volumes of Archbishop Whately's elementary books, entitled, "A Selection of English Synonymes," and "Easy Lessons on Reasoning." The high character of these books — indeed, they are admitted to be the best on the subjects which they treat — is well known, and we are glad to learn that they are extensively used in our schools.

The same publishers have issued a new edition of Miss Fuller's (Marchesa Ossoli's) translation of Eckermann's Conversations with Goethe.

Mr. Redfield, of New York, has published Lectures and Miscellanies "by Henry James"; a book of so marked a character that we hope to discuss it in our next number.

He has also published a story, entitled, "Isa, a Pilgrimage, by Caroline Cheesebro'." Matters of present living interest and excitement are treated in its pages in a bright and earnest way, though we cannot approve the moral.

The anonymous writer who, over the signature of Kirwan, not long ago addressed some Letters to the Roman Catholic Bishop of New York, and was certainly not surpassed in his own courtesy by the treatment which he received, has now addressed himself to Chief Justice Taney, in a neat volume published by the Harpers of New York. The aim of "Kirwan," in his strong and well-sustained statements of the ruinous influences of Romanism, is to show how appalling would be its tyrannical and superstitious power, if, as Kirwan believes it is in a fair way to do, it establishes its dark sway in our republic. The book is interesting, apart from its main purpose, on account of its incidental information.

Messrs. Phillips, Sampson, & Co., of Boston, have published a second edition of that admirable religious novel, entitled, "Margaret Percival in America." If any of our readers are ignorant of its designed moral, we will merely inform them that the book — the American book — most adroitly turns the tables upon the English Margaret Percival, a Puseyite novel, by Rev. William Sewell.

"Fancies of a Whimsical Man," is the title of another book by the Author of "Musings of an Invalid," which we recently noticed. There is wisdom in both the volumes, with humor and fancy, to make it attractive. It is evident that the author has suffered and thought, and if he be not at all hypochondriacal, he must be a pleasant, instructive companion, — for he is a lively and genial writer.

"Ixion and other Poems," by Harvey Hubbard, is the title of another

of the handsomely printed volumes from the firm of Ticknor, Reed, & Fields. These poems have been received with the commendation which they deserve. They are not Miltonic, but they are better than good.

"Song Leaves from the Book of Life and Nature," by an American, published by J. S. Redfield, of New York, is another volume of poetry, healthful and wise in its sentiments, and, as the title implies, gathered from some of the richest sources of poetry.

The Messrs. Harpers of New York continue to supply a succession of excellent books as fast as any one can read them. We hope in our next number to follow Miss Mitford in her "Literary Recollections." The Harpers have issued the third in the series of Jacob Abbott's very popular books, so that we have now new and much improved editions of "The Young Christian," "The Corner-Stone," and "The Way to do Good." This firm has bought "The International Magazine," and has thrown the whole patronage of it into the tide of favor for their own "New Monthly Magazine," which has attained an unexampled, though a richly deserved popularity. By an arrangement with Mr. Dickens, that author's new story of Bleak House will appear by monthly instalments in this excellent Magazine.

We have already in type an article on Dr. Palfrey's Academical Lectures on the Jewish Scriptures, which we had hoped to insert in our present number.

We learn with pleasure that Messrs. Crosby, Nichols, & Co. have in press a volume of Sermons by the Rev. Dr. Frothingham.

The Westminster Review. — The ownership and management of this vigorous Quarterly have recently passed into new hands. It was originally established as an organ for the utterance of the freest thoughts in matters of science and politics, of religion, philosophy, and morals. Some papers of the very highest ability and genius have, from time to time, appeared in its pages, while others, of great pretensions in the boldness with which they uttered destructive or mischievous crudities, have been even more common. There must be an organ in England for the expression of all the unbeliefs and antagonisms which have enlisted so much of the effective literary talent of that land. The more dignified, scholarly, and deliberate the contents of such a periodical can be made, the less shall we have to fear from the mere radicalism in the substance of its articles. We know that it is often said, that refined, intelligent, and cultivated scepticism is always the most alarming form of it. This, however, we do not believe. On the contrary, we are of opinion that no dangerous or permanent scepticism will generally consist with high refinement, intelligence, and culture, provided only that the great and solemn interests of life, as they are held in suspense by the open questions of faith, are constantly debated in full view of the actual necessities and struggles of human beings. Fresh and free inquiry, however superficial and incomplete it may be, is always more propitious to the final attainment of strong religious convictions than it is to the assurance of an established and immovable scepticism

We should do wrong, however, to regard the Westminster as the organ of a destructive or antagonistic spirit. It aims for a higher and a serener office. It would extend the privileges of freedom only to the nobler instincts and the most sincere disquietudes of mind and heart in

matters of philosophy, faith, and social life. A cautionary editorial note to an article in the January number is explicit in its announcement of the principles which are to govern the management of the Review. That article maintains that it would be wise and safe, in the present actual condition of France, to invest Socialism with the powers of government. The editors are willing to allow a plea to that effect to have a hearing, but they accompany it with a statement of their own opinion, that the harmless and beneficial supremacy of the Socialistic theories requires a previous supremacy of the moral nature, and a triumph over individual selfishness, which are not yet realized in France. The great article of the number is one by Rev. James Martineau, which exhibits the strength and acuteness of his intellect, the admirable balance of his ethical and spiritual principles, and the keenness of his observations of life. He presents with a most brilliant skill, in word and phrase and sentiment, the divorce and the sharp opposition which have been made to exist between the earthly and the heavenly relations of those who live in Christian communities. He traces the origin of this unfounded but ruinous antagonism, and follows it down in its striking manifestations through previous ages to the absurdities and hypocrisies with which it is associated in our days. There are but few pens that could so powerfully present what many of us so painfully realize.

One very interesting feature of the Review is to be an article embracing a summary sketch and criticism, with incidental and glancing side-views, of the chief additions made to English literature during a quarter of a year, and another article of the same character upon foreign literature. Those who have that charge in their hands will need to be diligent and well furnished for their work.

On one of the new characteristics of the Review, we must state a thought that is in our minds, with great plainness of speech. It is announced that American writers have been engaged, and that American contributions are to be furnished. We like the plan. We shall be glad to read a part at least of the contents of the Review which come under that head, for we have themes that will interest our Transatlantic relatives, which they only make bad work of when they undertake to treat, and which we have men competent to deal with understandingly. But we have a word to say as to the claims of impartial, candid, high-minded criticism in this matter. Let it be understood that American prejudices and party feelings, and private partialities and dislikes, are to be allowed to express themselves in an English Review, and then we shall not be misled. When we hold in our hands a publication bearing a foreign designation and date, it is one thing to know that we are reading a foreign judgment passed upon men and things that interest us, — a judgment unaffected by local feelings and rivalries, — and it is wholly another thing to know that a mail-bag has been the instrumentality in conveying from us, and back to us, the prejudiced opinions of one of our own citizens, who has sought the pages of a foreign periodical to express, as with a judicial weight, the same opinions which he has already expressed here to little or no purpose. These remarks seem to us to be called for by an article in the Westminster Review for January, entitled a "Retrospective Survey of American Literature." We began to read it as in good faith the production of an English writer, a born subject of Queen Victoria, or, speaking more accurately, of one of her predecessors on the throne. The first paragraph presented us with a picture of an English student making his first and his sole acquaintance with

American Literature in the British Museum at London. As we gained upon the article, that picture faded from our mind, and we thought the writer might enjoy the privilege of a frequent correspondence with some American gentleman connected with the press. We discovered at last that an American gentleman had for the occasion assumed the interesting character of the student aforesaid. We have learned to make allowances for the future.

President Sparks and the Writings of Washington. — About a year ago, an anonymous writer in the New York Evening Post published some severe charges against the editorial fidelity of President Sparks, in his great work, "The Writings of Washington." The charges were both general and particular, and a show of proof was brought to substantiate them. They covered the whole range of his editorial responsibility, and accused him of all the offences of which a careless and unfaithful editor could under any circumstances be guilty. It was alleged that he had omitted important words or sentences, and had introduced words or sentences of his own; had modified forms of expression, and altered the sense of the letters; had stiffened some familiarities of language in the originals into cold and formal utterances, and had softened some severities of judgment or invective which Washington had indulged in against the British government or its officials. These charges were read, we suppose, by those competent to weigh them, with equal surprise and incredulity. Those who were acquainted with President Sparks's character did not, for a moment, believe them. As the charges were repeated in the International Magazine, and copied in several newspapers, they led to much discussion in our literary circles, and the only explanation which we heard given of them was, that they were intended to prepare the way for a rival edition of the writings of Washington. President Sparks took no public notice of them, trusting, probably, to the frank and clear statements which he had made in his introductory remarks, and to the common sense of all candid judges, for an acquittal from such gross imputations.

Misled by the boldness of these charges, and without the means of investigating their justice, even if he had had the prudence to attempt it, Lord Mahon, in his recently published volumes, which we have noticed on a previous page, had the temerity to reiterate them without a word of qualification, and, indeed, with a distinctness and generality of statement which reflects equal discredit upon him as a gentleman and an historian. It is in the Appendix to his sixth volume that Lord Mahon has been betrayed into this injustice. Finding some curious discrepancies between several of the letters in President Sparks's volumes and the same letters as published in some other volumes, his Lordship very gratuitously supposes that the originals were altered by the editor to suit his own taste and judgment. Nor is this all. The reader is distinctly told that these discrepancies are so numerous and important, as to render it doubtful whether Mr. Sparks has printed any portion of Washington's correspondence as it was written.

If the charges were even only in a small part well grounded, they would have rendered the twelve volumes of the Writings of Washington wholly valueless. Such tampering as was alleged would have been destructive to all the confidence and sympathy which a reader wishes to feel over a book whose contents he expects will correspond with its title. The Westminster Review for January, in a tone very similar

to that which had traduced President Sparks in the International Magazine, uses this language concerning him: "In his selections from the papers of Washington, he has been guilty of what we can call by no milder name than a flagrant literary misdemeanor. We allude to the frequent substitution of his own language for that of Washington, under the pretence of preparing the writings of the latter for the public eye. We protest against such tampering with the productions of the illustrious American." Though there may have been no personal animosity, and no trade-interest in the dictation of these words, though the critic may even have thought that he was thus vindicating the integrity which ought to attach to an historian and an editor, yet we must say that no one could be justified in using such language, unless he had not only searched through all the original materials which were involved in the issue, but had likewise personally sought an explanation of every seeming ground for a misunderstanding from the living person most concerned in it. Such charges can scarcely ever be recalled or thoroughly rectified. They tend to unsettle our confidence, and to aggravate that distrust of history and of historic materials which already so sensibly impairs our interest and abates our faith in their perusal.

President Sparks has seen fit to take public notice of these repeated attacks upon him, as we think he was called upon to do, in consistency with his dignity, when such a writer as Lord Mahon had indorsed the charges. In three successive letters recently published in the New York Evening Post, and thence transferred to the columns of several papers, he has not only denied the charges in the most explicit and positive manner, but has likewise afforded an explanation of all the apparent grounds on which they rested. His introductory remarks, which precede his editorial labors, were indeed sufficient to explain all the facts of the case. The simple statement, that the copies of letters in Washington's letter-books often differ from the copies which were sent to their respective addresses, and that the editor followed the former where he could not collate the latter, is all that needs to be repeated. We hope that the result of this unjust attack, which must have been exceedingly painful to the subject of it, will lead the public to appreciate as they deserve the faithful, the unwearied, and most successful labors of President Sparks, in this country and in Europe, to present to us the Writings of Washington with such fulness and richness of illustrative matter as to leave nothing to be desired.

A Course of Christian Instruction. — The above general title expresses the design of a series of books now in progress of publication or preparation, intended to meet a want which has long been realized. The question as to the use of manuals in Sunday Schools, and the larger question as to what ought to be the contents of a Sunday School library, have been much debated among us. The former question has been decided, in the minds of many, against the use of manuals, unless we can have better ones than are most of those now in use. The latter question, with all the expressions of opinion which it has called forth, has led many to pronounce our present Sunday School libraries deficient in what ought to be their most prominent characteristic, namely, a series of books which shall aim, on the basis of Christian knowledge, to erect a course of instruction in Christian sentiments and duties. The geography of Palestine has been thought to carry with it a spell of power, such as must necessarily make all who are familiar with it fol-

lowers of Him whose holy footsteps have for ever consecrated its soil. Treatises on natural theology, the facts and arguments of which children cannot comprehend, have been looked to as very effective means of quickening the religious sentiment. A variety of books, in the selection of which the widest toleration has been practised, has been introduced into our Sunday School libraries, and the privilege of using them is not the least of the attractions, not to say the bribes, to induce attendance.

We are glad to know that the attention of those who are competent to meet the want has been turned to the effort to supply it. We shall soon have from the press a course of eight text-books, which are designed to comprise in a systematic and continuous method all such helps as literary materials will afford for imparting Christian instruction. Their titles will be as follows: — Early Religious Lessons; Palestine and the Hebrew People; Lessons on the Old Testament; Life of Christ; Books and Characters of the New Testament; Religious Duties and Christian Morals; Doctrines of Scripture; Scenes from Christian History. These books are to be adapted to the capacities of young pupils, and are therefore introduced by a volume whose contents shall admit of being imparted to a child, while the books steadily advance toward subjects which require some degree of mental effort for their intelligent study. The arrangement of the series will likewise be of aid in disposing a Sunday School into classes, and will tend to introduce order and method, where often, as things now are, there is little of either. The names of those who have united in the preparation of these volumes are Rev. Geo. W. Briggs, Rev. S. G. Bulfinch, Rev. Rufus Ellis, Rev. E. E. Hale, Rev. F. D. Huntington, Rev. J. H. Morison, and Rev. E. Peabody.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

Religion in Boston. — The recent consecration of a Jewish Synagogue in the city of the Puritans would be a remarkable event, were it not for the well-known largeness of our religious hospitality. That hospitality, first shown in the early days of the town by the friendly reception of some refugee Huguenots, who had a place of worship in School Street, has since embraced assemblies of unbelievers, meeting in halls for *free debate* on Sundays, a "Christian Israelite," preaching from the steps of the Custom-House, a congregation of Mormons, or "Latter Day Saints," and it now entertains a Synagogue of Jews. These are all additional to the congregations gathered in the name of Christ, by Romanists and Protestants, under every known form of sectarian belief and observance. Even the Roman inflexibility is understood to be somewhat relaxed here, if not in any variations of the altar services, yet in the differing exhibitions of allegiance and docility, as shown by those who worship at its altars. The influence of Protestantism over the Irish Roman Catholic population in our families and schools is very perceptible. Many Calvinistic householders make it a matter of conscience to catechize their domestics upon their creeds and observances, and, as we have reason to believe, not always without effect. Meanwhile, a case of some importance, originating in the immediate neighborhood, bids fair to raise an issue of a serious character. The law of the Commonwealth forbids the use in our public schools of any books favoring the peculiar opinions of any sect. The reading of

the Bible in the Protestant version is now alleged to be an infringement of that law. A Roman Catholic had instructed his child to refuse to read the Bible when called upon to do so. The child obeyed the parent, and was therefore dismissed from the school by the teacher, whose course was approved by the Committee. The parent institutes a suit against the Committee, and the case awaits a hearing. Certainly times and circumstances are changed, if our common school system, which we ascribe with such revering pride to our Puritan ancestors, is to be put on trial because it adopts the common Protestant version of the Bible.

The phases of Protestantism in our city are even more various than it entered into the mind of Bossuet to conceive, or into his deceptive reasoning to ridicule, as proofs of a faith without foundations. Puseyism has erected its standard here, and with its cross on the altar, its daily services, and its Lenten observances, has gathered around it a body of strong and earnest disciples. The recent death of Dr. Croswell, the beloved rector of the "Church of the Advent," left a vacancy there which has been filled by the appointment as rector of the Right Rev. Horatio Southgate, who returned from an unsuccessful commission as a Missionary Bishop to the East. The Bishop of this diocese is at issue with the Church of the Advent, and as he will not go there to administer the rite of Confirmation, those who wish to receive that rite must go to him in some other church. A minister of the Episcopal communion has been twice put on his trial in this city, and is now under suspension, having been charged with the adoption of some Romish practices.

Efforts have been made through the winter to revive a religious interest, and to promote religious union for some desirable purposes, among the so-called *Evangelical* bodies, i. e. the Trinitarian sects. It is said that more than a thousand persons have been awakend to a sense of religion, and to an engagement in its duties.

This result has been brought about, not by any great public excitement, through the introduction of foreign exhorters or the holding of protracted meetings, but by more quiet and less objectionable measures. Prayer-meetings have been held at an early hour, and ministers of different communions have coöperated to aid each other. Under the instigation and encouragement of this joint religious zeal, an Association has been formed, which, if it be wisely managed, will do a service of eminent value, and of startling necessity to our community. The object of this Association is to gather together young men, — with no rigidness in the restriction of the epithet, for men already past middle life are among its most efficient members, — for the sake of religious and moral, and even literary, improvement and effort. Rooms are furnished, a library is collected, the freshest works and newspapers are provided, and thus a centre is afforded where members may meet, and whence they may exert an influence for good upon that large class among us, the homeless clerks and business men, who, coming from the country, are exposed to all the perils of the city. Though any young man is eligible to membership, the offices of the Association can be filled only by Trinitarians. It is a singular commentary on this fact, and our social and religious charities would furnish many more such curious incidents, that the first person who was applied to for aid, and who liberally responded, was a benevolent gentleman whose Unitarian opinions would exclude him from any share in the government of the Association. This sectarian test having repelled some persons who were equally interested in the objects desired, another society has been formed, called

the "Young Men's Christian Union," which had in fact existed in embryo previous to the formation of the Trinitarian Society. The Union has no sectarian test, and embraces members of all religious denominations. We commend both societies to public favor.

Our own denomination in the city has not engaged in any joint action for religious purposes during the winter. Many of our churches feel the effects of the removal from the city into the suburbs of a class of persons who within a few years were among the most earnest helpers of our common cause. There are indeed ministers of our brotherhood here who can count up persons enough to fill their respective churches, that have removed from the city into the country during the period of their several ministries. We see by the daily papers, that projects are under debate in our city councils for offering such advantages in the purchase and occupancy of the city lands on the Neck as will retain our native population. But we fear that the impulse of removal cannot be withstood. If it continues, we see no alternative but that some of the Congregational Churches of Boston will share the fate which has passed upon some of the Dissenting chapels of London.

The Rev. Dr. Gannett has delivered on Sunday evenings through the winter, in his own church, a course of lectures on the "Truths of Religion." These have been attended by large audiences, and we trust will do the good which their earnestness and ability deserve to effect.

Harvard College and the Theological School at Cambridge. — An act passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts in 1851, to change the constitution of the Board of Overseers of Harvard College, went into operation this year, according to its own provisions. The members of the Senate and of the Executive Council of the State have ceased to hold an official place in the Board. The Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the President of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of the State Board of Education, and the President and Treasurer of the College, are now official members of the Board. The permanent or elective members, heretofore fifteen ministers and fifteen laymen, are to go out of office by tens in three successive years, according to seniority of office, the first ten having already been removed, and their places are to be supplied by the Legislature in joint ballot, ten new members having thus been already chosen. When the substitution has been effected, five are to retire and five to be chosen each year. Experience will test the wisdom and expediency of this change.

On the first meeting of the Overseers under the new organization, a motion was made for the appointment of a committee to confer with the President and Fellows of the College on the relations existing between the College and the Theological School, in view of any present or future embarrassments that might be realized as growing out of those relations. The results of this commission were, a report from the committee, and a memorial from the President and Fellows, advising that a hearing of the case should be sought from the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth under the exercise of its chancery powers.

The case involves principles of equity as applicable to the administration of trust funds for charitable uses, — educationary bequests and donations being included under that designation. If it can be made to appear, on proper examination, and by competent and sufficient evidence, either that the chief and paramount responsibilities of the trustees, in some superior function, are interfered with; or that the intentions of

donors and testators cannot, by change of circumstances, be realized; or that the purpose of their endowments is frustrated or impaired; and if at the same time it can be shown that any judicial intervention can direct the funds into hands which shall administer them according to the intent of their donors, and so as better to accompliah the good ends designed without any infringement of public or private rights, — it is understood that a case is a proper subject for the court in the exercise of its chancery powers. It is believed that such a case, under one or more of the above conditions, can be made out, from the relations now existing between the Theological School and the College at Cambridge.

It would be manifestly improper in us to enter here into the merits of the case at issue. It belongs to the Corporation of the College to institute and to pursue all the needful measures. We wait with interest for the result. The proposition has as yet met with no opposition. It received the unanimous approval of the Overseers, and has engaged the united wisdom of the members of the Corporation.

Ordination. — Mr. Warren H. Cudworth, late of the Theological School at Cambridge, was ordained as Pastor of the Unitarian Church and Society in East Boston, on Wednesday, March 17. Rev. Joseph Richardson of Hingham was Moderator, and the Rev. Charles J. Bowen of Newburyport was Scribe of the Council. The Introductory Prayer was offered by Rev. F. W. Holland of East Cambridge; Selections from Scripture were read by Rev. Mr. Bowen; the Sermon was preached by Rev. H. A. Miles of Lowell; the Prayer of Ordination was offered by Rev. Calvin Lincoln; the Charge was by Rev. Prof. Francis of Cambridge; the Fellowship of the Churches was offered by Rev. H. F. Harrington of Lawrence; Rev. T. S. King addressed the Society; and Rev. A. B. Muzzey of Cambridge offered the Concluding Prayer.

OBITUARY.

Died in Raynham, Mass., on Saturday, March 20, Rev. Simeon Doggett. This venerable man, having fulfilled a work extended over a long life, has gone to his rest, followed by the respectful regards of those among whom he was honored for his character and his labors. He was born at Middleborough, March 6, 1765, and was descended from the Puritan stock of Thomas Doggett of Marshfield. His parents were members of the Episcopal communion, but in early manhood, and long before the breach in our Congregational fellowship took place, he "became a Unitarian by conviction," as he himself expressed it. Having pursued the preparatory studies of a college course with a determination which overcame many difficulties, he entered Brown University, and graduated with honor in 1788. For a few years he was a tutor in that institution, which situation he left to take charge of a new academy in Taunton, in 1796. With his zeal to be of service to his fellowmen, he pursued at this time the studies of the ministry, and preached in the vacant pulpits of the neighborhood. He was settled as pastor of the Congregational Church at Mendon from 1815 to 1831, and from the latter year to 1846, as pastor of the Congregational Society at Raynham. He had the needful talents for the satisfactory discharge of his duties, and a conscientious spirit guided their use.

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